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BIENNIAL REPORT

DEPT.
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF

Archives and History *W. Va.*

— OF THE —

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

1911-14

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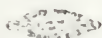
HENRY S. GREEN, LL. D.,
State Historian and Archivist.



Charleston, West Va.
1914

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FEBRUARY 1914



LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

State of West Virginia,
Department of Archives and History,
Charleston, December 1, 1914.

To His Excellency,

Honorable Henry D. Hatfield,
Governor of West Virginia.

My Dear Sir:—

Section three of Chapter LXIV of the acts of the Legislature, session of 1905, requires the State Historian and Archivist to "make annually a report to the Governor to be transmitted by him to the Legislature." The lamented death of my distinguished predecessor in office, Hon. Virgil A. Lewis, came at the end of an illness of several months duration, covering the period during which the biennial report of this department of the state government for the years ending September 30, 1911, and September 30, 1912, would, in the ordinary course of events, have been prepared, and for that reason no report covering the biennium of 1911-12 has ever been presented.

From the time that Professor Lewis was stricken with mortal illness, and until the appointment of the present incumbent as State Historian and Archivist, in August 1913, the work of the department was carried on under the supervision of Mr. Arthur J. Thompson who had been Professor Lewis' trusted assistant. This report, herewith transmitted, accordingly covers a period extending from October 1, 1910, to June 30, 1914.

Very respectfully,

HENRY S. GREEN,
State Historian and Archivist.



DEPARTMENTAL REPORT
ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
OCTOBER 1, 1910—JUNE 30, 1914.

The Bureau of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia was created by Act of the Legislature at the session of 1905, and Honorable Virgil A. Lewis, A. M., was appointed State Historian and Archivist. After nearly seven years of industrious and efficient service of the state in organizing and directing the work of the department, Mr. Lewis was called away from us by death December, 1912. The growing collection of historical material which has been gathered during these seven years of unremitting industry and faithful endeavor is the splendid legacy which Mr. Lewis has left to all the people of the state he had loved and served so loyally. Three successive biennial reports of the Bureau have set forth in detail the extent of the wealth of that material, and the increment of that wealth continued to accumulate during the biennium which marked the close of Mr. Lewis' work.

The Library of the Department.

It is not possible from the records now available to give an itemized report showing in detail the additions made to the department's collection of books since September 30, 1910, the end of the period covered by Mr. Lewis' third biennial report. That report estimated the total number of books and pamphlets in the collection as "nearly sixty thousand." Since that estimate was made the number of books in the library has been steadily growing. As a depository library for public documents issued by the Federal government, we must care for much valuable material prepared by the various departments at Washington so that it will be accessible to all citizens who may desire to make use of the same. Through the system of exchanges obtaining between the states, and to some extent with foreign countries, we also receive much valuable printed matter from the various departments of government in other commonwealths and jurisdictions. The value and importance of this material and of having it so handled and cared for as to make it at all times available for the use of investigators and research workers in all fields of human knowledge is very great. In the rearrangement made necessary by the continued growth of the library, much labor and thought have been bestowed on the problem of making our collection of public documents as accessible as possible. It should be the policy of the department, also, to lose



no opportunity of filling any existing gaps in our series of those documents. The department has made constant endeavors, as far as the funds available would permit, to add to its large collection of books bearing on the history or relating to the development of the Virginias.

One of the most valuable original sources of history is to be found in the files of daily and weekly newspapers, and the department is fortunate in having a considerable quantity of material of this kind in the shape of bound volumes of papers published in the early days of the commonwealth. In order that the newspaper material for the history of today may be at hand when that history comes to be written, the department has invited the publishers of papers and periodicals in the state to furnish copies for our files, and the invitation has met with a most generous response. Most of the newspaper publishers of the state are sending us, gratis, two copies of their publications, one for binding and one for the clipping bureau of our legislative reference section. In order that this valuable material may be suitably preserved, it is necessary for the department to incur no small expense for binding the accumulating volumes.

From all these sources the library of the department is growing at the rate of several thousand volumes a year, and the collection of books tends steadily to outgrow the physical equipment provided for its accommodation. The library should by all means be equipped with metal stacks in the place of the wooden stacks now in use. Not only is the danger of loss from fire greatly increased by the presence of the wooden stacks in the building, but the wooden stacks occupy much more floor space than would be required for the same amount of shelf room in modern metal stacks. I earnestly recommend that the Legislature provide for the purchase of metal shelving for the library of the department, sufficient to accommodate not less than sixty thousand volumes. One of the results of the present lack of floor space is that our bound volumes of newspapers must be cared for in the basement rooms of the Capitol Annex, a most inconvenient arrangement.

In his last report Mr. Lewis called attention to the necessity of properly cataloguing the department's large collection of books, and since that report appeared the need of a suitable card catalogue for the library has grown more urgent and acute. The administration of the library has been placed in the hands of a trained librarian, and the task of cataloguing will be prosecuted as rapidly as the funds available for that department of the work permit. The Dewey decimal system of classification and notation has been adopted for the card catalogue, and advantage is taken, as far as possible, of the printed cards issued by the Library of Congress.

Legislative Reference Library.

In his report of 1910, my predecessor in office called attention to the wealth of material available for purposes of legislative reference



work in the collection of public documents, state and federal, to be found in the department's general library and in the state law library. Acting under the direction of Governor Hatfield, the new head of this department has undertaken to organize that section of the library work so as to make it an efficient agency for gathering information likely to be of use to the legislative and administrative branches of the state government. Following the lead of New York and Wisconsin, many of the states have now established bureaus of legislative reference, usually in connection with the work of the state library or the state department of archives and history. As illustrative of the scope and requirements of this new work in other states and of the purposes and aims of those in charge of it, I quote the following from a pamphlet issued by the Wisconsin Free Library Commission:

Our short experience has taught us many things. We have been convinced that there is a great opportunity to better legislation through work of this kind—that the best way to better legislation is to help directly the man who makes the laws. We bring home to him and near to him everything which will help him to grasp and understand the great economic problems of the day in their fullest significance and the legislative remedies which can be applied and the legislative limitations which exist. We must take the theory of the professors and simplify it so that the layman can grasp it immediately and with the greatest ease. The legislator has no time to read. His work is near to him, he is beset with routine work, he has to have conferences with his friends upon political matters, he is beset by office-seekers and lobbyists and he has no time to study. If he does not study or get his studying done for him he sometimes falls a prey to those who are looking out to better their own selfish ends. Therefore we must shorten and digest and make clear all information that we put within his reach. * No busy man can keep track of legislation, and especially the complex legislation of our modern times in one state, let alone half a hundred states. It is our work to do that—to find out the history of the particular pieces of legislation, to find out how a law works, to get the opinions of just lawyers, professors, doctors, publicists upon these laws and to put their opinions well digested in such form that it can be readily used and understood by any legislator even in the whirl and confusion of the legislative session.

Some essentials in carrying on this work may be summarized briefly:

1. The first essential is a selected library convenient to the legislative halls. This library should consist of well chosen and selected material. A large library is apt to fail because of its too general nature and because it is liable to become cumbersome. The library should be a depository for documents of all descriptions relating to any phase of legislation from all states, the federal government and particularly from foreign countries like England, Australia, France, Germany and Canada. It should be a place where one can get a law upon any subject or a case upon any law very quickly. It is very convenient to have this room near a good law library. Books are



generally behind the times, and newspaper clippings from all over the country and magazine articles, court briefs and letters must supplement this library and compose to a large extent its material.

2. A trained librarian and indexer is absolutely essential. The material is largely scrappy and hard to classify. We need a person with a liberal education, who is original, not stiff, who can meet an emergency, and who is tactful as well.

3. The material is arranged so that it is compact and accessible. Do not be afraid to tear up books, documents, pamphlets, clippings, letters, manuscripts or other material. Minutely index this material. Put it under the subjects. Legislators have no time to read large books. We have no time to hunt up many references in different parts of a library. They should be together as far as possible upon every subject of legislative importance.

4. Complete index of all bills which have not become laws in the past should be kept. This saves the drawing of new bills and makes the experience of the past cumulative.

5. Records of vetoes, special messages, political platforms, political literature, and other handy matter should be carefully noted and arranged. Our legislator often wants to get a bill through and we must remember that he often relies as much upon political or unscientific arguments as we do upon scientific work. He should be able to get hold of his political arguments if he wants, and the political literature from all parties upon all questions should be kept near at hand.

6. Digests of laws on every subject before the Legislature should be made and many copies kept. Leading cases on all these laws and opinions of public men and experts upon the working of these laws or upon their defects, technical or otherwise, should be carefully indexed and as far as possible published in pamphlet form, with short bibliographies of the subject before the people.

7. The department must be entirely non-political and non-partisan or else it will be worse than useless. If you have the choice between establishing a political department and no department at all, take the latter.

8. The head of the department should be trained in economics, political science, and social science in general, and should have also a good knowledge of constitutional law. He should, above all, have tact and knowledge of human nature.

9. There should be a trained draftsman connected with the department—a man who is a good lawyer and something more than a lawyer, a man who has studied legislative forms, who can draw a bill, revise a statute, and amend a bill when called upon to do so. Such a man working with this department and the critical data which it contains will be absolutely essential.

Does it not seem reasonable that the law, which is the expression of the will of the people and upon which good administration is founded, should be scientific—should be based upon the best experience of all mankind? If our administration is to be a good administration, does it not seem ridiculous that the supreme court, the highest legal talent in the state, should go on day after day, year after year, turning out decision after decision upon laws which are made often by men who have never seen a law book? Does that seem like business? Does



it seem right that our fundamental law should be left to these haphazard conditions? Does it seem reasonable that all the talent should be used in interpreting laws, in curing their defects, and that absolutely nothing should be done in a scientific ways in the making of these laws? Why, in building any kind of a structure today we use an architect? The construction of a law is a far harder task than the criticism of it, or even the interpretation of it. It involves a knowledge of the theory of government. It involves, because of the enlarged sphere of government today, a sound knowledge of economic conditions.

If private forces maintain bureaus of information for representatives, let us have public information bureaus, open to private and public interests alike. If it is hard to get information because of the great variety of subjects now coming before our legislators, the only sensible thing to do is to get experts to gather this material. If business interests have good lawyers to look after their legislation, the people should secure the same kind of men to help their representatives. If the business interests secure statisticians, engineers, and scientific men, then the public should do likewise. If great judges and great lawyers are constantly working upon the problems of interpretation of laws, then, surely, men of equal ability should be consulted while those laws are being constructed.

As to our own department in Wisconsin, I do not want you to have the impression that we are trying to influence our legislators in any way, that we are upon one side or another upon any question, or that we are for or against somebody or something. We are merely a business branch of the government. I do not want you, either, to think that we are dictating legislation. We are not. We are merely servants of the good, able and honest legislators of our state. We are merely clerks to gather and index and put together the information that these busy men desire. I can say truly that the work is popular with all members of the Legislature. We have answered thirty or forty questions a day upon various topics. As soon as a question relating to the quality of diphtheria antitoxin or some other difficult subject comes before the Legislature, hundreds of letters go out from our department to the great schools of medicine, to the great hospitals, and to the scientists who have knowledge upon that subject. The results of their investigations are placed before our committee in concise form. So question after question is investigated in as scientific manner as our time and means allow us. It is our duty to gather every bit of scientific data from whatever source. The legislator sometimes does not know where he gets the information. The professor of economics, the professor of political science, the public, the chemist or scholar does not know where it goes. The great body of public men throughout the country can be drawn upon for information to help our legislators. Committees, too, realize the worth of this research work, and a large number of the bills before them are investigated by this department. Committees working upon abstract and technical subjects have at their hands in concise form letters and opinions and other data, from all over the country, from experts upon the particular subjects on which the committee is working.

The sixth referendum of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States deals with the establishment by Congress of a "Bureau or Bureaus of Legislative Reference and Bill Drafting." The result of



that referendum showed a remarkable public sentiment in favor of the establishment of such a bureau at Washington, and the last session of Congress authorized the organization of such a service in connection with the work of the Library of Congress. Several foreign nations and twenty-five states of the Union have legislative reference and bill drafting bureaus designed to place at the disposal of the legislators comprehensive information about legislation on current subjects and to furnish statutory language expertly drawn to effectuate the intent of the members proposing legislation. In discussing this question at a recent meeting of the national bar association, Senator Root spoke as follows:

"There are certain specific measures by which American legislation can be greatly improved. One is the establishment of a reference library for the use of each legislative body, with a competent library force to furnish promptly to the legislators statistics, historical data, and information of all kinds pertinent to proposed measures. Another is the establishment of a drafting bureau or employment of expert counsel, subject to be called upon by the Legislature and its committees, to put in proper form measures which are desired, so that they will be drawn with reference to previous legislation and existing decisions of the courts, and will be written in good English, brief, simple, clear, and free from ambiguity and inconsistency. There is a useless lawsuit in every useless word of a statute, and every loose, sloppy phrase plays the part of the typhoid carrier."

The bureau of archives and history should be able to render the service, as thus outlined, with economy and efficiency for the State of West Virginia. But for the effective organization and vigorous prosecution of the work a special appropriation in addition to that provided for the general maintenance of the department will be required. It is believed, however, that much more than the amount of the necessary appropriation will be saved to the state in a reduction of expenses attendant upon sessions of the Legislature. A well equipped legislative reference bureau may handle with greater economy, efficiency and promptness, much of the clerical and routine work hitherto performed by casual helpers during each session and subsequent to the close of the session.

Department Publications.

During some time previous to the death of Mr. Lewis, active preparations had been going on in the department for publication of the official records of all West Virginia's military organizations engaged in the war between the states and in the Spanish war. Much work on these records had been done by the Adjutant General's office under a previous administration. A vast amount of careful research and investigation has been expended on the material available, and the results are now nearly ready for the printer. I recommend that special

Date		Description		Amount	
1890	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1891	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1892	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1893	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1894	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1895	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	

provision be made in the appropriations for the printing of these records.

Another piece of historical work undertaken by my predecessor and left in the department in manuscript, nearly ready for publication, is a reprint of the journal of the first constitutional convention of West Virginia, prefaced by an introduction dealing with the historical events leading up to the assembling of the convention. With the approval of the Secretary of State, I have withheld this manuscript from publication for the present, thinking that the same should be printed in a series with other valuable manuscripts now in possession of the department. Among the unpublished documents acquired by the bureau is a manuscript copy of a daily journal recording the proceedings and debates of the first constitutional convention. The purchase of this manuscript was referred to in the department report of 1908. It is a transcript of the records of the convention kept by the official stenographer, Hon. Granville Davisson Hall, afterwards the second secretary of state of the new commonwealth. While somewhat less complete and authentic reports of the convention proceedings and debates may be found in ancient newspaper files, it appears to be altogether desirable that the Hall manuscript should be printed by the state, and I recommend that provision be made for the early publication of this work.

The Museum.

For the better administration of the different branches of the work of the department it has been found desirable to segregate the collections of the museum from the library and this re-arrangement of our material equipment has been reflected to some extent in the organization of the working force. The last session of the Legislature provided for the appointment and made special appropriation for the salary of an Assistant State Archivist and Historian. Mr. G. A. Bolden was appointed to this position, and the administration of the museum and its valuable historical, archaeological and anthropological collections has been placed in his hands. Mr. Bolden has given much thought and care to the reclassification, re-arrangement and fuller interpretation of the exhibits in the museum. During the period covered by this report many interesting collections have been added to the material previously gathered by the department and to that handed down from the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society. Notable among these is the Philippine collection loaned to the museum by Captain J. Harry Neff and Mrs. Neff of Kingwood, West Virginia.

In each of the great national industrial expositions held since the establishment of this department of the state government, the department of archives and history has taken an active part in the work of organizing whatever exhibit of the state's resources has been made at such expositions. The department, has, in turn, added to its permanent collections valuable material drawn from the various ex-

hibits. The Panama-Pacific Exposition Commission has, in accordance with that precedent, appointed Mr. Bolden to be its assistant secretary, and he will devote such attention as may be necessary to the promotion of West Virginia's interests in the great exposition on the Pacific coast. It is hoped that many of the West Virginia exhibits at San Francisco may be of such a character as to make them suitable for permanent exhibits in the museum at the state capital.

Recommendations.

With each year of growth the potential value of the department's large collection of books and other material is constantly increasing. Its actual value has, I think, been appreciated by such officers of the state government as have had occasion to deal with questions in which the early history of the state has been concerned. That notable service has been rendered by the department in connection with the investigation recently conducted by the Virginia Debt Commission is the testimony of several of the investigators who have used our material. I feel that I may speak the more unrestrainedly in regard to this matter because the needs of the Debt Commission had been largely supplied before I assumed charge of the work of the department. The Virginia debt controversy furnished an excellent example of the necessity for a careful and systematic preservation and classification of official archives in every branch of the state government. Provision should be made for a more comprehensive organization of that work, in which this department should be able to count on the cooperation of all officials and official bodies whose proceedings are a matter of public record.

I am convinced, moreover, that the time has come when our large collection of books and other printed matter should be made available to the people of West Virginia for educational purposes on a state-wide basis, and that this department should be used as the center and clearing house of a free library extension service which may ultimately be brought within the reach of every fireside in the state. By this means the minds of men and women and children may be stimulated to nobler aspiration and endeavor through familiarity with such books and publications as are best suited to their needs. For the accomplishment of this purpose there should be created a West Virginia Library Commission, similar to those which have rendered excellent service in many other states. The members of the Commission should be appointed by the Governor and should serve without compensation except to the extent of their actual expenses while engaged in the work of the Commission. This Commission should be given broad powers with respect to the organization and supervision of a free library service for the whole state. At the same time permissive legislation should be enacted making it possible for government bodies in counties and municipalities to provide by taxation and by bond issues for the support of free libraries wherever such libraries may be demanded

by the citizens on a referendum vote. The organization of a traveling library service and of packet libraries to be circulated by parcels post should be provided for through the library commission, and the administration of this work should be co-ordinated, under the supervision of the commission, with that of the library of the state university, the libraries of the public schools and the library of this department.

Education is no longer regarded as a process that is limited to the few years of childhood and youth spent in the schools. For the citizen of a self governing state it should be a continuing process, and the means of continuing the process of education under favorable conditions throughout life should be brought within the reach of every citizen. Supplementing the influences of the home, the church and the school, the public library is the most valuable agency for carrying on the processes of education beyond the point at which the boy or girl emerges from the school room. It is, then, as a means of public education and to aid in the development of a higher type of citizenship that I recommend the creation of this new agency for the service of the state.

Thirty-five states of the Union are now carrying on library extension work, and twenty-five of them have created library commissions for the supervision of this work. Thirty states have a system of traveling libraries to provide books for reading or study to villages, rural communities and farm homes. As to the educational value of the work thus provided for in many of the states I here quote the following expressions of opinion:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT SAYS:

After the church and the school, the free public library is the most effective influence for good in America. The moral mental and material benefits to be derived from a carefully selected collection of good books, free for the use of all the people, cannot be over-estimated. No community can afford to do without a library.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN SAYS:

The system of free public libraries now being established in this country is the most important development of modern times. The library is a center from which radiates an ever widening influence for the enlightenment, the uplift, the advancement of the community.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY SAID:

The opening of a free library is a most important event in any town. There is no way in which a community can more benefit itself than in the establishment of a library which shall be free to all citizens.

ANDREW CARNEGIE SAYS:

The most imperative duty of the state is the universal educa-



tion of the masses. No money which can be usefully spent for this indispensable end should be denied. Public sentiment should on the contrary, approve the doctrine that the more that can be judiciously spent, the better for the country. There is no insurance so cheap as the enlightenment of the people.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL SAID:

A college training is an excellent thing, but, after all, the better part of every man's education is that which he gives himself, and it is for this that a good library should furnish the opportunity and the means. All that is primarily needful in order to use a library is the ability to read, primarily, for there must also be the inclination, and after that, some guidance in reading well.

J. N. LARNED SAYS:

The true literature that we garner in our libraries is the deathless thought, the immortal truth, the imperishable quickenings and revelations which genius—the rare gift to now and then one of the human race—has been frugally, steadily planting in the fertile soil of written speech, from the generations of the hymn writers of the Euphrates and the Indus to the generations now alive. There is nothing save the air we breathe that we have common rights in so sacred and so clear, and there is no other public treasure which so reasonably demands to be kept and cared for and distributed for common enjoyment at common cost.

Free corn in old Rome bribed a mob and kept it passive. By free books and what goes with them in modern America we mean to erase the mob from existence. There lies the cardinal difference between a civilization which perished and a civilization that will endure.

To bring the library equipment of West Virginia into line with our rapid advancement in the development of the State's material resources we should enact a general law permitting the establishment and maintenance of free public libraries by counties and municipal corporations, and authorizing the appropriation of public money and the levying of taxes for the support of such libraries. We should create a library commission charged with the supervision and development of free library work throughout the state. The large and valuable collection of books contained in the department of archives and history should be so administered, under the supervision of the library commission, as to benefit all the people of the state through a library extension service. I therefore recommend that a library commission with powers and duties similar to those conferred on library commissions in other states be created, and that the law regulating the administration of the department of archives and history be so amended as to place the supervision of this department in the hands of the library commission.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The funds appropriated by the Legislature for the use of this de-

partment are, in accordance with section 396 of the Code, disbursed upon the orders of the Board of Public Works. An itemized account of all expenditures will be found in the report of the secretary of said Board contained in the biennial report of the secretary of state. The only moneys handled directly by the department are those which accrue from the sale of discarded material. A detailed account of receipts and expenditures of this fund is appended as follows:

PETTY CASH, RECEIVED THROUGH SALE OF DISCARDED SHOW CASES,
 BOOKCASES, OLD LUMBER, WASTE PAPER, &c., DURING MONTHS
 OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1913, AND
 JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1914.

Cr.	
A. E. Affolter, check for old lumber.....	\$ 5.00
G. N. Corey, check for discarded show cases.....	1.50
Attorney Hughes, check for discarded bookcase.....	10.00
K. R. Huey, check for discarded show cases.....	7.00
Silverstein, cash for waste paper.....	7.88
Grossman & Co., check for show cases and discarded glass.....	16.00
F. A. First, check for discarded show case.....	10.00
Hugh Buskhannon, cash for discarded show case.....	6.00
A. E. Affolter, check for old lumber.....	2.00
G. N. Corey, check for discarded show case.....	4.00
Nuway Company, Check for discarded wall cases.....	12.00
Cash in refund from Standard Heating & Plumbing Co.....	4.13
W. N. Burdett, check for discarded show cases.....	13.00
	<hr/>
	\$98.51
Total cash received.....	\$98.51
Total disbursements as shown	\$3.62
	<hr/>
Balance on hand.....	\$14.89

DISBURSEMENTS OF PETTY CASH, AS MADE BY G. A. BOLDEN, ARCHIVIST,
 NOVEMBER 1st, 1913, to JULY 1st, 1914.

1913	
Nov. 7	U. S. Express Co., Pkg. to Clarksburg..... \$.50
" 11	Gates Sons Co., Qt. turpentine..... .20
" 15	Pd. cash to agt. for "Lincoln Daily"..... 1.00
" 17	Lewis Hubbard & Co., roll fibre paper..... 1.95
" 17	Charleston Hdw. Co., nails and brads..... .26
" 18	Western Union Tel. Co., tel. to Richmond..... .64
" 22	Chas. Paper Co., metal files for library..... .40
" 24	Lowenstein & Sons, casters and screw driver..... .90
" 24	Adams Express Co., ex. on pkg. to Hot Springs, Va..... .35
" 28	Parcels post chgs. pkg. to Parkersburg..... .40
Dec. 4	Barrett & Shipley Co., pedestals for museum..... 4.00
" 6	Chas. Hardware Co., door lock..... .35
" 9	Chas. Hardware Co., finishing nails..... .30
" 12	Lowenstein & Sons, brads for finishing..... .20
" 12	Lowenstein & Sons, butts, screws & hooks..... .80
" 12	Goshorn Hardware Co., ratchet spiral drill..... 1.50
" 12	Coyle & Richardson, baby ribbon, pins, &c..... 1.00
" 14	P. A. Donovan, electric torch for library..... 2.55
" 16	S. S. Moore Company, poppy oil for cleaning pts..... .15
" 16	Potterfield & Carr, pkg. cast-steel soap..... .10
" 16	O. J. Morrison Stores, 5 yds. cloth..... .50
" 16	Woodrum Home Outfitting Co., 4 rolls c. paper..... 2.00
" 22	Lowenstein & Sons, screw eyes and bangers..... .45

"	22	Burlew Hardware Co., rings, tacks, s. eyes, hooks.....	.79
"	30	Eagle & Fuhrum, ribbon for flags.....	1.32
"	30	S. S. Moore Company, feather duster.....	1.25
Jan.	6	McCorey Company, tacks and hammer.....	.25
"	6	Walker Dry Goods Co., ribbon for flags.....	1.55
"	6	Goshorn Hdw. Co., hand saw.....	1.60
"	7	Charleston Hdw. Co., hinges for door.....	.35
"	13	Geo. Ort Dept. Store, velvet for museum case.....	.50
"	17	Chas. Hdw. Co., tacks and polish.....	.49
"	17	Lowenstein & Sons, varnish stain for tables.....	1.20
"	19	Lowenstein & Sons, hardware.....	.60
"	19	Grossman & Co., for display case for museum.....	15.00
"	20	Lowenstein & Sons, can varnish stain.....	.50
"	23	Lowenstein & Sons, nails, hooks, screw eyes, &c.....	.75
"	23	Gates Sons & Co., paint and varnish.....	1.25
"	25	Bergerman & Co., polishing liquid.....	1.00
"	25	Charleston Hdw. Co., finishing nails.....	.20
"	26	Remington Typewriter Co., repairs to machine.....	.60
"	27	Adams Express Co., pkg. to Cong. Sutherland.....	.50
Feb.	2	Gates' Sons Co., filler and varnish.....	1.15
"	3	P. A. Donovan, battery for flash light.....	.50
"	3	Charleston Hdw. Co., putty and screws.....	.25
"	4	Burlew Hdw. Co., hooks, tacks, nails.....	.45
"	17	Wood alcohol, brushes, relic for museum, &c.....	1.28
"	18	P. O. Registry chg. to Lakeland, Fla.....	.10
"	21	Lowenstein & Sons, catches, brads, nails.....	1.18
"	23	Standard Plumbing Co., fittings for gas stoves.....	1.85
"	24	Standard Plumbing Co., polish and wiping rags.....	.75
"	24	Ches. & Potomas Tel. Co., long distance message.....	.30
"	24	Ches. Potomas Tel. Co., long dis. messages.....	1.05
Mch.	9	Goshorn Hardware Co., chisel, awls, wire.....	1.25
"	11	Cement for repairing roof.....	.40
"	18	Charleston Gazette, 12 back numbers for files.....	.60
"	20	Gates' Sons & Co., Lampblack and turpentine.....	.55
"	23	O. J. Morrison Dept. Stores, velvet for cases.....	1.50
"	26	Goshorn Hdw. Co., staples and hooks.....	.40
"	26	Standard Plumbing Co., metal polish.....	.50
Apr.	1	Adams Ex. Co., ex. and ins. on pkg. to Whg.....	5.57
"	3	Scarborough Co., map of W. Va. for library.....	1.95
"	6	Gates Sons Co., glass cutting and glass.....	2.95
"	7	Goshorn Hdw. Co., tacks and wire.....	.49
"	9	O. J. Morrison Dept. Store, velvet for mus. cases.....	.83
"	10	Eskew Smith & Cannon, door brush & cuspidor.....	3.50
"	13	McCorey's 10c Store, tacks, hooks, screws.....	.70
"	14	Charleston Hdw. Co., 100 ft. sash cord.....	.70
"	15	S. S. Moore Co., sanitary drinking cups.....	.50
"	21	Charleston Hdw. Co., nails.....	.25
"	30	West Va. Heating & Plumbing Co., supplies.....	.10
May	4	Adams Express Co., pkgs. to Madison & Chicago.....	.74
"	6	Hardware Co., May 6, S. 12, nails.....	.55
"	22	Coyle & Richardson, cloth for unvelled portrait.....	1.25
"	27	Postmaster Charleston, duty on foreign pkg.....	.15
"	27	Adams Express Co., ex. on pkg. to Seattle.....	.24

 \$83.62



THE
NORTH AMERICAN
REVOLUTIONARY
ASSOCIATION

APPENDIX

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
OHIO VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

COMPRISING THE
Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting

HELD AT
CHARLESTON, W. VA., NOVEMBER 27 AND 28, 1914

Published by
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
1915

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM 1630 TO 1800

BY
JOHN H. COLEMAN

(REVISED EDITION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE CITY OF BOSTON, 1822)

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PRINTED BY
JOHN H. COLEMAN

AT NO. 10, NASSAU ST.

NEW-YORK: 1880

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FOREWORD.

It seems inevitable that there should be more or less delay in getting the published reports of meetings of the Association into the hands of the members. Notwithstanding the best intentions on the part of the committee on publication, the work of getting the record of the proceedings into print has been exceedingly slow, owing to circumstances over which the committee had no control. It is a matter of regret that it was not possible for the committee to obtain all the papers read at the meeting for publication in the record of the proceedings. The Association is to be congratulated on the growing interest in its work among students of history in the local field, and each successive annual meeting demonstrates more clearly the need of some such clearing house for a periodical exchange of ideas among the workers.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.



EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
Ohio Valley Historical Association
CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

PROGRAM

OPENING SESSION

Friday, November 27, 9:30 A. M.

Presiding, Professor James Morton Callahan, West Virginia University.

Addresses of Welcome: For the State, Governor H. D. Hatfield. For the Local Committee, Ex-Governor W. A. MacCorkle.

Address on the Work of the State Department of Archives and History—Dr. H. S. Green, State Historian, Charleston, W. Va.

Incidents in the Pioneer, Colonial and Revolutionary History of the West Virginia Area—J. T. McAllister, Hot Springs, Va.

Early Pioneer Experiences at North Bend—Miss Jean Howell, Cincinnati, O.

John Floyd and Oregon—Professor Charles H. Ambler, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.

The Early Salt Industry in the Kanawha Valley—Miss Minnie L. Goff, Charleston, W. Va.

12 O'Clock Noon—Luncheon served by the Local Committee. Free to out-of-town guests.

SECOND SESSION

Friday, November 27, 2:00 P. M.

Presiding, Professor A. B. Hulbert, Marietta College.

The Tories at Fort Pitt and What Became of Them—Professor W. H. Siebert, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

General Wilkinson's First Break With the Spaniards—Professor I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati.

Some Observations as to the Population of the Ohio Valley During the Eighteenth Century—Professor J. E. Bradford, Miami University, Oxford, O.

Early Land Grants in Southeastern Ohio—Professor H. W. Elson, Ohio University, Athens, O.

Social Conditions in the Mountain Counties of West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky—Professor J. R. Robertson, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM 1630 TO 1880
BY
JOHN R. HARRIS

The history of the city of Boston from 1630 to 1880, by John R. Harris. The work is a comprehensive and detailed account of the city's development over a period of 250 years. It covers the early years of settlement, the growth of the city, and the various events and movements that shaped its history. The author provides a thorough analysis of the political, social, and economic conditions of the time, and offers a clear and concise summary of the city's progress. The book is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of Boston, and is highly recommended for libraries and collectors.

West Virginians vs. West Virginia, 1861-63—Professor J. C. McGregor, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

4:00 P. M.—Reception of members and friends by Ex-Governor W. A. MacCorkle and Mrs. MacCorkle at their residence "Sunrise" on the South Side.

8:15 P. M.—Address, Germany and the European War, by Professor Robert McNutt McElroy, of Princeton University. At Y. M. C. A. Auditorium.

9:30 P. M.—Association Dinner, arranged under the auspices of the Local Committee.

Dinner Talks—Personal Experiences in Europe at the Opening of the Present War.

THIRD SESSION—TRANSPORTATION

Saturday, November 28, 9:30 A. M.

Presiding, Professor Henry W. Elson, Ohio University, Athens, O.

Development of Transportation on the Monongahela—Supt. W. Espey Albright, Bellevue, Pa.

The Relations of American Sectionalism to Transportation Routes—Professor A. B. Hulbert, Marietta College.

Ohio River Improvement—Wm. M. Hall, United States Engineer Office, Parkersburg, W. Va.

Washington and the Western Waterways: Antecedents of the Ohio-Lake Erie Ship Canal—Hon. Burd S. Patterson, Secretary Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pittsburgh, Pa.

BUSINESS SESSION

Saturday, 11:30 A. M.

EXCURSIONS

Saturday, 2:00 P. M.

Excursion to Salt works or other local points of historic interest.



Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE.

The preliminary conference arranged for Thursday evening was held in the pleasant quarters of the Department of Archives and History, in the Capitol Annex. Dr. H. S. Green, who has charge of the department of history, stated, in a very happy manner, the purpose of the meeting, and introduced Professor J. M. Callahan, the president of the association. Dr. Callahan said, in part:—"It is very fitting that the association meets in West Virginia, which is on the road from east to west, and has been neglected for such a long time, but to which people are now turning because of its wealth and its natural beauty. The meeting held tonight shows local interest as there is a chance to see the collection here in the department of archives and to study the legislative reference bureau, which utilizes history in the improvement of law and government. This association stands for the study of local history and the preservation of local records for practical purposes. Small local societies are valuable and should again be revived. Local history is just as valuable as national, if studied from the standpoint of evolution. Local history may be used to represent in a concrete way the larger events of national history."

After Dr. Callahan's address, Professor Bradford, of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, spoke on local history as an incentive to historical study and research. Professor Robertson, of Berea College, Berea, Ky., talked on the relation of local to general history.

After the speeches, the members of the library staff served refreshments and a most delightful social hour followed. The time was all too short for seeing the exhibits in the well equipped library and museum.

OPENING SESSION, FRIDAY MORNING.

The first regular meeting of the Association was held in the assembly room of the Hotel Kanawha. President Callahan called the meeting to order. Dr. H. S. Green, speaking for Governor Henry D. Hatfield, welcomed the Association to West Virginia. Ex-Governor W. A. MacCorkle spoke for the local committee and extended the greetings of the citizens of Charleston. The following papers were then read.

THE WEST VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Dr. H. S. Green, State Historian, Charleston, W. Va.

The Bureau of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia was created by the act of the Legislature at the session of 1905, and Honorable Virgil A. Lewis, A. M., was appointed State Historian and Archivist. After nearly seven years of industrious and efficient service of the State in organizing and directing the work of the department, Mr. Lewis was called away from us by death, December, 1912. The growing collection of historical material which has been gathered during these seven years of unremitting industry and faithful endeavor is the splendid legacy which Mr. Lewis has left to all the people of the state he had loved and served so loyally. Most of you who are gathered for this meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association have known Virgil A. Lewis as an enthusiastic and zealous co-worker in the field of historical research, and it is fitting that I should in your presence pay this tribute of respect to his memory.

Those of you who were present at the conference in the Department of Archives and History last night saw something of the collection of books and objects of historical and archaeological interest now available for the use of students and research workers in West Virginia. The acquisition of a large part of that material is the result of seven years of strenuous endeavor on the part of Mr. Lewis. Yet there was a foundation of intelligent effort and successful achievement laid by those who were the predecessors of Mr. Lewis in paying homage at the shrine of the Muse of History, in West Virginia. The group of cultured men and women who carried on for many years the work of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society performed a signal service to the state in preserving for posterity many precious relics of the past that stand as visible and tangible evidences of the struggle and toil through which our pioneer forebears won from the wilderness the means for our present-day civilization. The department is today the heir of a valuable inheritance handed down by the founders and members of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, as well as of the seven years of Mr. Lewis' public service in the office of State Historian.

In the last published official report of my predecessor the number of books and pamphlets in the department was estimated at 60,000. Since that estimate was made the number of books in the library has been steadily growing. As a depository library for public documents issued by the federal government, we must care for much valuable material prepared by the various departments at Washington so that it may be accessible to all citizens who may desire to make use of the same. Through the system of exchanges obtaining between the states, and to some extent with foreign countries, we also receive much valuable printed matter from the various agencies of government in other commonwealths and jurisdictions. In addition to the constant streams of useful material coming in from these sources, it is the policy of



the management, as far as the funds available will permit, to add to its considerable collection of books, old and new, bearing on the history or relating to the development of the Virginias. From all these sources the library of the department is growing at the rate of several thousand volumes a year.

Co-incident with this growth of the department's library there has been constant augmentation of the historical collections, by gift, loan and purchase, and one of the first undertakings of the present administration was a re-arrangement of the physical equipment for greater economy of floor space and greater convenience of administration. This work occupied no small part of the energy of the force during the early part of the new administration's first year. Nevertheless progress has been made in other lines of effort. Finding lists and shelf lists, which were formerly relied on to show the way to the treasures contained among the thousands of volumes, are being supplemented and replaced with a card catalogue on the Dewey decimal system. Excellent progress has been made by the efficient workers during the time devoted to this task, but a card catalogue of such a collection of material as is now gathered in our library has at least one remarkable resemblance to the ancient city of Rome, it cannot be built in a day.

In his report of 1910, Mr. Lewis called attention to the wealth of material in the Department available for the purposes of a legislative reference library. Acting upon the suggestion of Governor Hatfield, the new head of the department has undertaken the task of organizing that section of the library work so as to make it an efficient agency for gathering information likely to be of use to the legislative and administrative branches of the state government. Following the lead of New York and Wisconsin, many of the states have now established bureaus of legislative reference, usually in connection with the work of a state library or the state department of archives and history. For the purposes of this work the most vital and available of our existing material is segregated, carefully classified, and minutely indexed. But a vast amount of material that has not yet appeared in the books must be gathered and made available if a legislative reference library is to fulfill the purpose of its being. Copies of laws passed by the legislatures of other states, of the bills under consideration by those same legislatures, pamphlets and magazine articles and newspaper clippings, briefs and court decisions, bearing on legislative questions that are the object of immediate interest must be obtained from all over the country. This material must be suitably mounted, classified, indexed and brought into the most convenient form for immediate and hurried use.

Briefs of extended reports covering important official investigations must be prepared, digests of the legislative practice in different states and countries must be made or secured, statistics must be verified and interpreted, and reference lists arranged for seekers after knowledge along particular lines of legislative endeavor. The object of the up-to-date legislative reference bureau is to have always at hand up-to-the-



minute information on every subject likely to engage the attention of the law makers.

More than half of the states of the union now maintain a service of this kind for the convenience of their legislatures, and many cities are establishing municipal reference bureaus similarly organized. These new agencies through which the modern world is working out its problems are in close co-operation throughout the country, and they maintain a system of exchanges of material, as well as a national public information service. That service has just begun the publication of a weekly bulletin containing lists of titles of such material as is most in demand by the men who are making the laws of the country. Each co-operating bureau is thus placed in a position to avail itself of the work of investigation and enquiry that is done in all the others, and each bureau reports to all the others the earliest appearance of any new development in its own field.

With such an agency equipped for supplying accurate and comprehensive information within the reach of men who are working on the problems of legislation in the several states, it ought not to be too much to expect that our laws will be made, at least, in the light of a fuller knowledge of the facts with which the lawmakers are dealing. Not only will the verdicts of history on the events of the past be within their reach, but the ablest expression of current public opinion on the questions and conditions of today will be placed before them. The material of the legislative reference bureau contains not only "the best that has been thought and said in the world," on a limited range of subjects, but it contains the thing that is being thought and said on all sides of those subjects today.

But perhaps this new feature of the work of our department is more interesting to a "historian by appointment" than to a group of historians by achievement, and I pass to a brief mention of other phases of our work in West Virginia. During some time previous to the death of Mr. Lewis, active preparations had been going on for the publication of official records of all West Virginia's military organizations engaged in the war between the states and in the Spanish war. Much work on these records had been done by the Adjutant General's office under a previous administration. A vast amount of careful research and investigation has been expended on the material available, and the results are now nearly ready for the printer.

Another piece of historical work undertaken by my predecessor in his official capacity, and left in the department in manuscript nearly ready for publication, is a reprint of the journal of the first constitutional convention of West Virginia, prefaced by an introduction dealing with the historical events leading up to the assembling of the convention. I have withheld this manuscript from publication for the present, thinking that the same should be printed in a series with other valuable manuscripts now in possession of the Department. Among the unpublished documents acquired by the bureau is a manuscript copy of a daily journal recording the proceedings and debates of the first constitutional convention. The purchase of this manuscript was referred to

in the Department report of 1908. It is a transcript of the records of the convention kept by the official stenographer, Honorable Granville Davisson Hall afterward the second secretary of state of the new commonwealth. I hope that we may soon see this valuable document in print.

With each year of growth the potential value of the Department's large collection of books and other material, as an aid to historical research, is constantly increasing. Its actual value has, I think, been appreciated by some of the members of this Association who have had occasion to make use of the material contained in our collection. That a notable service has been rendered to the state by the Department in connection with investigations conducted by the Virginia Debt Commission is the testimony of several of the investigators who have used our material. I feel that I may speak the more unrestrainedly in regard to this matter because the needs of the Debt Commission had been largely supplied before I assumed charge of the work of the Department. The Virginia Debt controversy furnishes an excellent example of the necessity for a careful and systematic preservation and classification of official archives in every branch of the state government. Provision should be made for a more comprehensive organization of that work, in which this department should be able to count on the co-operation of all officials and official bodies whose proceedings are a matter of record.

I am convinced that the time has now come when our large collection of books and other printed matter should be made available, on a state-wide basis, to people who cannot come to Charleston for periods of study and research. The library of the Department of Archives and History should be made the center and clearing-house of a free library extension service which may ultimately be brought into helpful and stimulating touch with every fireside in the state. For the better organization of this work there should be created in West Virginia a library commission armed with such powers as will enable it to carry on a public library propaganda and a library extension movement. Thirty-five states of the union are now carrying on such work, and twenty-five of them have established library commissions for its supervision. Thirty states have organized systems of traveling libraries to provide books for reading and study in villages, rural communities and farm homes. West Virginia should not fail to get in line with this procession of progressive states. To bring our equipment into line with our rapid advancement in the development of the state's material resources, we should have a general law permitting the establishment and maintenance of free public libraries by counties and municipal corporations, and authorizing the appropriation of public money and the levying of taxes for the support of such libraries. In the development of this work over the state the Department of Archives and History and its library organization should have a large part.

Incidents in the Pioneer, Colonial and Revolutionary History of the West Virginia Area

By J. T. McALLISTER, of Hot Springs, Va.

That part of the West Virginia area which drains into the Ohio had been reached by and claimed for the British certainly as early as 1671, which you will recall was forty-five years before Governor Spottswood and his rollicking companions, the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, had reached the top of the Blue Ridge, where they drank so much and so many kinds of wine that they were persuaded that the great lakes were visible from its summit.

Notwithstanding this early spying out of the land, the colonial period saw but two of the present counties of the state brought into existence—Hampshire, erected in 1754, and Berkeley in 1772, both of which are east of the Alleghany Mountains.

In 1776, Monongalia, Yohogania and Ohio counties were formed from West Augusta, and in 1777 Greenbrier was made from Botetourt and Montgomery.

Thus during the Revolution we have only the counties of Greenbrier, Hampshire, Monongalia, Ohio and Yohogania, in the West Virginia area.

We, therefore, must examine the records of other Virginia counties for much of the history of this section during its pioneer, colonial and revolutionary period.

When the state of Virginia was laid off into its original eight shires, one of these was Old Rappahannock, which then included this part of Virginia. In 1692 Old Rappahannock became extinct and this territory fell to Essex. In 1720 Spottsylvania was erected and this area fell into that county.* In 1734 it became a part of Orange County. In 1738 the Virginia Legislature took from Orange the western portion, and from this portion made the counties of Frederick and Augusta. A small part of the present state then fell to Frederick, but by far the larger part fell to Augusta County.

Augusta county was not content with exercising jurisdiction over the lower half of the present valley of Virginia, and over what is now embraced in forty counties in West Virginia. It assumed and exercised jurisdiction over all of southwest Virginia, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and quite a bit of what is now Pennsylvania.* In other words at that time Virginia consisted of Augusta county and *a little outlying territory*.

In 1769 Botetourt county was erected, taking from Augusta the lower portion of the present state of West Virginia.

The division between Augusta and Botetourt is shown approximately by drawing a line from Hot Springs, Virginia, to the point on the Ohio river where Jackson and Wood counties corner on that stream. Botetourt county

*There seems to have been some uncertainty in the legislative mind of the House of Burgesses as to the Western limits of Spottsylvania county.

*Augusta County Court held several of its sessions in what is now Pittsburg. The records of these sessions are in existence.

very thoughtfully exempted from jury service its citizens living on the Mississippi River, giving as a reason the "bad condition of the roads."

In 1772, Fincastle County was erected by taking from Botetourt the southwestern portion of it and included that part of West Virginia which lies south of the Kanawha and New Rivers.

In 1776 Fincastle county was extinguished and its territory divided into the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. All of Fincastle County lying in West Virginia then became Montgomery County.

And just here I trust that I may be pardoned for calling attention to a tradition which comes to me from a source which is considered accurate:

Did West Virginia Lose Some of Her Territory to Kentucky?

The lines by which the county of Kentucky was set off from Montgomery were the same as those adopted for the state of Kentucky. Soon after that State was erected a dispute arose over the question as to which of the forks of Sandy was to be followed. One part of the act refers to the *main fork*.

Virginia sent a set of commissioners to meet the Kentucky representatives. They failed to agree and in the year 1800 a second set was sent. At that time "the jest about the julep" had not been laid in the camphor balls. Neither state had then passed any act making it a high crime or misdemeanor to give or receive the beverage which "makes Kentucky famous." The Kentuckians are said to have been as generous then as now in dispensing their well known hospitality. The Virginia commissioners gracefully accepted what was set before them, asking no questions.

Tradition says that when the morning came for the meeting at the forks the Virginia commissioners could not walk a chalk line. In the meantime Providence had been working on the side of the heavier jugs. It had rained and rained heavily on the water shed of the upper and smaller fork. It is true that the stream was muddy, very muddy, but unquestionably it had otherwise the appearance of being the larger or main fork. And the Virginians so reported. Thus, it is said, Kentucky gained and Virginia lost all of the county of Martin and parts of the counties of Lawrence, Floyd and Pike in Kentucky.

An Effort to Include a Part of West Virginia Area in the State of Frankland.

In 1783 a meeting was held at Abingdon, Virginia, over which the Rev. Charles Cummings presided and Col. Arthur Campbell was a leading spirit. This meeting addressed a memorial to Congress asking that a new state, to have the name of Frankland, be erected. The boundaries of the proposed state, as set out in this memorial and more fully in a message of Governor Patrick Henry to the Virginia Legislature, embraced most of Southwest Virginia, the southeastern part of Kentucky, the eastern half of Tennessee, parts of Alabama and Georgia, and all of what is now Mercer county, West Virginia, and a part of Summers county.



Virginia very promptly squelched this effort to form a new state out of her territory. North Carolina, however, struggled from 1784 to 1788 with her portion (now Eastern Tenn.) which during that time maintained a government calling itself the State of Franklin.

So much for the various governments and attempted governments which exercised jurisdiction over this territory.

Settlers in the Greenbrier River Valley Prior to the Revolution.

I have neither the time nor the information necessary to trace the incoming of the settlers into this area. I have gathered some facts as to the dates and locations of some of the pioneer settlers. Most of these were on the watershed of the Greenbrier River. I have lists compiled from the surveys made for the Greenbrier Company in 1759-1-2-3-4-5 and again in 1769; and a very extensive list showing the persons for whom surveys were made in 1774 and location of lands surveyed. I have gathered also names, dates and locations of some of the pioneer settlers in Yohogania, Ohio and Monongalia counties, as well as at some other points in the state. This information I have placed as footnotes to this paper.*1 These footnotes are really longer than the paper itself. I shall not attempt to read these lists.

These settlers were mainly Scotch Irish. That they were not *real* Irish and did not fancy being classed as such is evidenced by the following incident. Joseph and Saml. McClung had charge of collecting the tithes on the watershed of the Greenbrier during the time it was a part of Botetourt County. In 1775 they posted a list of the men liable for this tax. At that time Andrew Donally was living in that section, on Sinking Creek. In some way they had heard a rumour that Donally had change his name, by omitting the O; the rumor stating that he was a papist and that his name was really O'Donnally. So in posting the lists they placed the O before his name. Donally's wrath was great. A verbal apology would not suffice. He compelled these two gentlemen to have prepared a formal instrument setting out the facts, and apologizing for the insult, which paper after being witnessed by Wm. Hamilton, Wm. McClennahan, James Hughart and Richard May (his neighbors) was taken before the May term of the Botetourt County Court 1776, where it was proved and in due and solemn form ordered to be recorded.*2

Services of Revolutionary Troops in and From West Virginia.

In giving the following items in regard to the services of Revolutionary troops in and from the West Virginia area, I do not attempt to give all of such services. I have confined my notes to such services as are mentioned by revolutionary soldiers in sworn statements, copies of which are in my possession. In order to give these within the reasonable limits placed upon this paper I shall be compelled to give them very briefly, and in a very fragmentary way.

*1 See end of paper.

*2 Deed Book No. 2 page 242. Botetourt Records. Fincastle, Va.



Year 1776.

In 1776 Captains John Lewis and Samuel Vance had their companies of Augusta militia in service at Fort Warwick. This fort stood on Deer Creek, in what is now Pocahontas County, about three miles from its mouth and about four miles from the town of Cass.

Sergeant Aaron Scaggs had some of the Montgomery County militia in service on Bluestone River, guarding Mare's and McGuire's stations.

Capt. John Henderson had a company of Botetourt volunteers guarding the frontiers. They began in May at Cook's Fort and the men ranged the country up New River through the present Virginia county of Giles. Companies were kept at this fort (which was located in Monroe County, on Indian Creek, near Red Sulphur Springs,) from 1776 to 1780. In 1777 Capt. Archibald Wood was in charge of these troops, and in the same year Capt. Joseph Cloyd, of Montgomery, had troops in that section. In 1780 Capt. Gray had command. Among the men engaged in this service were William Hutchinson, Phillip Cavender, Nicholas Wood, John Bradshaw, and Francis Charlton. Its spies were often at Fort Wood, on Rich Creek and patrolled the country for thirty miles or more, until they met the spies from Fort Burnside's. They went at times to the head of Bluestone River to guard the settlers there while gathering their crops.

In this year (1776) Capt. John McCoy's company was taken to the West Fork of the Monongahela River, and was stationed at Fort West, Lowther's Fort, and at Nutter's Fort. In the latter part of the time they were called to Fort Coon, where a woman had been killed while spreading hemp in a field. In October Capt. ——— Nall's company went from Rockingham to Westfall's Fort.

Year 1777.

The year 1777 saw the company of Samuel Vance in service for two weeks at Warwick's Fort and later at Clover Lick Fort; Capt. Robert McCreery's company for three months at Warwick's Fort, and Capt. John Lewis' Company, also at Fort Warwick.

It saw Capt. Robert Cravens' company from Rockingham march to Tygart's valley and later return to Fort Warwick, and Capt. Wm. All's company garrisoning a fort on Hackett's creek for three months. In August, a Greenbrier company, under Capt. Mathew Arbuckle served three weeks on Elk River and then went to Point Pleasant.

In this year, Capt. ——— Evans raised a company in Berkeley which took part in the battle of Brandywine.

In this same year, Capt. Moses Hutton's company from Hampshire passed through the Youghigheny Glades to Fort Pitt, whence it was sent by Gen. Hand to Fort Wheeling. It was while this company was serving its six months there that Jacob Ware and Jacob Crow were killed by the Indians.

The most important event in this year however was the preparation to march an army into the Indian Country—particularly against Detroit.

Volunteers were called for. The troops were to march to Point Pleasant and the expedition start from there.

In September we find the following companies assembling: Capt. George Moffett's (at the mouth of Kerr's Creek), Capt. Thos. Smith's, (at Stannton), Capt. John Given's, Capt. John Hopkin's, all of Augusta, and the following Rockbridge companies, Capt. John Paxton's, Capt. Chas. Campbell's, Capt. ——— Hall's, and Capt. Wm. McKee's. These troops were marched to Point Pleasant. To provide for their wants, a lot of cattle were driven to the Point, a company from the fort meeting the cattle at the mouth of Elk River. There were about 700 of these volunteers. It was while these volunteers were at the Fort that Cornstalk, his son Ellinipso and two Indians called Red Hawk and Petalla were brutally murdered by these men. It was while at the Point that the news of Burgoyne's surrender was announced to the troops. Gen. Hand was late in arriving, and decided to abandon the expedition. He had, before announcing that decision, irritated these men greatly, by complaining that they were feasting too high, and issuing orders to shorten the pay and cut down the daily allowance of food. When the attempt was made to put this order into effect, nearly every man in the fort shouldered his gun, put on his knapsack and started for home. Col. McDowell, persuaded Gen. Hand to rescind the order, and the men returned.

Year 1778.

In the year of 1778 Capt. David Kennedy's company from Berkeley county, and Capt. Robert Craven's company from Rockingham county, were in service at Fort McIntosh, and these men helped to build Fort Lawrence on the Tuscarora River. Lt. Parks was killed by some Indians in a path between these two forts. The murder of Parks so incensed Col. Crawford that it was with difficulty that the other officers dissuaded him from killing some nine or ten Indians who had come to sue for peace. Capt. Uriah Springer enlisted a company for nine months at Fort Lawrence, which was marched to Fort Pitt for one month and then went to Fort McIntosh.

In the same year Capt. John Donaldson had his company in service at Hatfield's Fort on New River. I do not know where this fort was located.

In May, of this year, Capt. Robert Cravens took his Rockingham company across the heads of Calipasture, Bullpasture and Greenbrier Rivers to the head of Tygart's Valley and it served for three months in that section being at times at Forts Coon, Hutton and Westfalls. Another company, under Lt. John Rice, from Rockingham County, was also in that valley during the same year.

One of the most important events of the year was the attempt of the Shawnees to avenge the death of Cornstalk. In the spring they mustered their strength and for several days besieged the fort at Point Pleasant but only succeeded in killing Paddy Sherman and wounding Lt. Gilmer. Finding that they could not take this fort they killed all of the stock be-



longing to the garrison and were preparing to march elsewhere. The objective point was the Greenbrier settlements. This purpose was ascertained through the good offices of a sister of Cornstalk's who had taken shelter in the fort. To enable two men to pass safely through the country this sister dressed John Logan and Philip Luchminger in the style used by the Shawnees. They started on their perilous trip, but returned to the fort that evening. John Pryor and Philip Hammond were then prepared for the undertaking, and passing the Indians about twelve miles west of Fort Donally warned the settlers, in time to prevent a general massacre.

When the news of the attack on Fort Donally was spread, a Rockbridge company served for three months on the Greenbrier, and a Botetourt company, under Capt. Hugh Logan, was hurrying to relieve the Greenbrier settlements, when it was met and turned back by Capt. Hall, who told them the Indians had been driven back.

In this year, Gen. George Rogers Clarke, stopped at Point Pleasant, while on his way to the capture of Vincennes.

During this year and also in 1779, John Jones, Wm. Morris and Leonard Morris were acting as scouts over the country 60 to 70 miles westward of the inhabited portions.

In the fall of 1778 there was at the fort at Point Pleasant a man named Morgan. His father had offered a large reward for him. He had been for a number of years a prisoner among the Indians and had married an Indian wife who was also with him at the fort. Here Morgan was kept a prisoner, being at times kept in irons. The watch over him having been lessened he and his wife escaped. Fearing that he would inform the Indians that the period of enlistment of some of the men then at the fort would soon expire, these men were discharged promptly so that they might reach home in safety.

Year 1779.

Passing now to the year 1779. In March Capt. Wm. Kincaid took his company of Augusta militia from Vanoe's fort (at Mountain Grove, Bath County) to Fort Clover Lick, then to Fort Nutter, where it guarded the farmers at work in their fields.

Capt. James Trimble's company of Augusta militia, were at Fort Buchannon, where his men did scout duty.

From the middle of April until the middle of October spies were kept scouring the country from Fort Lick on Elk River to Drennin's Fort and Fort Beckley in the Little Levels.

Capt. Wm. Lyle, of Rockbridge, had some of his men driving packhorses loaded with flour and bacon to the troops in service on the frontiers.

Capt. Robert McCreery and Capt. Andrew Lockridge had their companies of Augusta militia in service at Clover Lick Fort.

About the first of June Capt. Robert Cravens took his Rockingham company to the north fork of the South Branch of Potomac where a portion of it remained for two months. While stationed there Capt.



Cravens received a commission to raise a company for service in South Carolina, and at least five of his men went with him into that service.

Year 1780.

In February, 1780, a company was raised by Capt. Thos. Wright in Greenbrier county for the purpose of going against the Indians near Detroit. It was marched to the Lead Mines in Southwest Virginia, thence to Logan's Station in Kentucky, where it was decided to abandon the enterprise. They were then marched to McAfee Station, on Salt River, where Capt. James Armstrong was in command, and there discharged. Twenty-nine of these men reached home the last of August, among whom were John Robinson, James Alon, Swift Perry, Edward McConnell, William Bushor, James O'Hara, John O'Hara and Thomas Alterberry.

In the Spring, Capt. John McKittrick marched his company from Jennings Gap, near Staunton, to Fort Dinwiddie (five miles west of Warm Springs, Va.) where it served a while and then went to Fort Warwick. In May Capt. Wm. Anderson's company was in service at Clover Lick Fort.

In this year Capt. ——— Sullivan took a company of cavalry from Berkeley County to South Carolina. This company was in the battle of Cowpens and also in the Battle of Guilford Court House.

Year 1781.

In the year 1781 we find Capt. Houston's company from Rockingham serving against the Tories on South branch; Capt. John McCoy's company pursuing Indians across the headwaters of the Greenbrier to the head of Seneca; Capt. Joseph Gregory's company of scouts from Frederick county at Powers' Fort and later on the Ohio River.

Of the troops which went out of the state this year we find Capt. Geo. Ball's company from Hampshire, serving in Col. James Nevel's Regiment; Capt. Edward Davis' company from Berkeley, marching in May to service about forty miles below Williamsburg; and Capt. John Hart's company from the same county taking part in the siege of Yorktown, and guarding some of the prisoners as far as Frederick, Maryland.

I have not been able to place the date when a Rockbridge company under Capt. Geo. Huston went to Cape Capon where it broke up the Claypole tory headquarters.

In these items I have referred to Rockingham companies, even before Rockingham county was formed. What is meant is that the troops came from the Rockingham area, which you will recall embraced, at the first, a part of what is now Pendleton County.

In this paper I have mentioned quite a number of frontier forts. Fortunately the late distinguished Virgil A. Lewis prepared and published in the West Virginia Archives a most valuable list of the frontier forts in this area. I mentioned a few which are not included in his



list, and in the foot notes to this paper I have given the location of the forts referred to by me.

In concluding this paper I wish to say that I am deeply conscious of how little has been said in it, and how much has been left unsaid of the history of the pioneers of this state. I can only hope that I may have, in some slight degree, freshened the memories of some of the facts in the early life of those people, but for whose daring and whose enterprise this great and rich territory might, for another generation, have remained uninhabited by the white, or have passed into the control of another nation.—memories of that splendid people, whom Capt. Wm. Gordon McCabe, now President of the Virginia Historical Society, so fitly describes as "that glorious Scotch-Irish stock, that dauntless race, in whose hearts beat so strong the fear of God, that there was left no room for fear of any other thing"; and that in some slight measure I may have rescued from oblivion some of the names and preserved for posterity an account of some of the services of those who so fully "shared the peril and glory of guiding a new nation out of the dark and narrow bondage of royal tyranny into the broad sunlight of republican freedom."

Early Settlers on the Watershed of the Greenbrier.

From The Chalkley Mss. I have these.

James Burnside (1753), Wm. Frogg (1751) John Fulton (1753) Robert Fulton (1753) Eve Johnson (1753) Christian Landers (1753) Mathew Moss (1774) Wm. McClench (1762) John Miller (1760) Richard Madison (1751) in Monroe area—John Rodgers (1772), John Riphe (1778) George Weaver (1751) Henry Boughman (17—). This Mathew Moss was killed by Indians. This Henry Boughman lived about where Alderson now is and was killed by Indians in 17—.

From Surveys made for Greenbrier Company.

Surveys made in 1750 to 1752.

On Antony's Creek, now in Greenbrier County.

Thos. Cambie, Felix Gilbert, Wm. Gregg, Archibald Hopkins, Wm. Hopkins, Erwalk Johnston, and John Trotter.

On Muddy Creek, now in Greenbrier County.

Frederick Hanger, John Keeny, Philip Rambough, and Felty Yoakhum.

Other places than the above.

Thos. Berry, John Brown. (Ewings Creek, now Knapps Creek in Pocahontas County) Saml Carrell, Archibald Clendenning, James Burnside, Patrick Davis. (Green Spring) Thos. Dove, Joseph England, Abraham Ears (both sides of Greenbrier at mouth of Howards Creek, near Lewisburg, Greenbrier Co.) James Ewing, Nap Gregory, John Hopkins, Leml. Howard, Malr. Hanger, George Kennedy, Thos. Lewis, Andrew Lewis, John Lewis, Moses Moore, Edward McMullen (In the Sticks), John Madison, Thos. Meeks, Wm. Rennicks. (both sides Spring Lick Creek) George See, Frederick See, John See, George Weaver, Alexander Wright, Wm. Wright, James Ward, and Mathias Yoakhum.

Surveys made in 1759.

On Stinking Creek.

James Hughart, James Jordan, James Knox, Chas. Lewis, Wm. Man, James McCoy, John McCoy, Wm. McCoy, Lawrence Murphy and Thos. Williams.

Other surveys same year.

Wm. Blair, (Clover Lick Creek), Andrew and Alexander Crockett, (south side Nob Ridge) Joab Fletcher (Spring Lick Creek), Hugh Gillespy (West side Nob Ridge), Hugh Johnston, (N. W. side of Greenbrier River about 12 miles above Marlinton), Wm. Kinny, Charles Keanison (At Falling Spring) Wm. Lewis, (Clover Lick Creek), John Lewis, (Ewings, now Knapps Creek), Moses Moore, Wm. Rennicks and Joseph Williams (Second Creek).

Surveys for Greenbrier Company on watershed of Greenbrier, all made in 1774, except where noted.

In the Sink Holes of Greenbrier.

James Arbuckle, Wm. Blanton, John Clendenning, Wm. Craig, Joseph Daugherty, Garrett Green, Saml. Glass, John Grey, Archibald Handley, Alexander Kelley, Andrew Kelley, John Madison, James McAtee, Joseph Miller, Jacob Massey, Jephtham Massey, James Parsons, John Parsons, Martin Phillips, Andrew Ralston, Thos. Stewart, Saml. Sallard, James Smith, Wm. Tencher, John Stewart, Robert Thompson, John Wright, Solomon Wright, John Wilson, Wm. Wilson (north Side Soap Nob) Andrew Wilson.

On Wolf Creek. (Now Monroe County).

James Anderson, Patrick Dickson, John Evans, James Erving, Moses Hall, David Jarrett, Andrew Lewis, Wm. Map, Alexr. McClenahan, Wm. McClenahan, James Meeks, (On Little Wolf Cr.) James Miller, Michael Swoob, John Swoob, Joseph Swoob, Thos. Skeggs, John Wiley.

On Howards Creek, Now Greenbrier County.

John Anderson (1775), Joseph Dixon, Joseph Rennard.

On Anthony's Creek (Now Greenbrier County).

Robert Armstrong, Saml. Carrel, Saml. Humphreys, Shedrick Harri-man, Saml. Iron, James Lockhart, James Richards, John Ward, James Ward.

On Muddy Creek—Now Greenbrier County.

Jacob Davis (1775), Aaron Davis (1775), Robert Davis, James Davis, James Harlin, Wm. Hambleton, Francis Jackson, James Jarrett, Martin Kayser, Saml. McClung, Danl. McDowell, Chas. O'Hara, James Patterson, John Viney (1775), Conrad Yoakhum (1775).

On Mill Creek, a branch of Muddy Creek.

Joseph Claypole (1775), Wm. Feemster, (1775), John Griffith, John Hardy (1775), Richard Humphreys, (1775), Phillip Rambough.

On Second Creek. (Most of which is in Monroe County).

James Arbuckle, Elizabeth Allison, Wm. Craig, Joseph Curry, Richard Dixon, Michael Dixon, Philip Hammon (1775), John Humphreys, James Knox, Ann, Moorehead, Thos. Nickols, Joseph Nickols, Isaac Nickols, David Ralston, Andrew Ralston, Solomon Turpin, Saml. Williams, Joseph Williams, (1775).

On Spring Lick Creek.

Francis Boggs, Wm. Boggs, James Boggs, James Boggs, Jr., John McNeace, David Stinson, John Vantrice, Thos Vantrice, Thos. Wymore, John Williams, Thos. Williams.

In the Valley above Spring Lick Creek.

Wm. Callison, John Callison, (foot of Brushy Mt.) George Cutliff, Wm. Stevenson.

On Oswego Creek (Now called Swago) Pocahontas Co. John Bridger, Thos. Buck.

On Beaver Lick Creek, Andrew Hamilton, (1776).



On Locust Creek. Saml. Gilliland and John Dick.

On Stephen Hole Run, south of Buckeye Mt., John Swinler.

On Sinking Creek.

James Burns, Wm. Cooper, Chas. Donally, Andrew Donally, Thos. Ellis (1775)—Burns Creek—Wm. Hughart, Chas. Howard, James Jordan, Wm. Jones, Chas. Lewis, Barney Mathews, John McCauslin,—near foot of Alleghany Mts.—Alexander Ochaltree, John Patton, Thos. Spencer,—near foot of Alleghany Mts.—Lawrence Murphy.

On Little Sinking Creek—Saml. Vernor, Andrew Donally.

In Little Levels. (Now Pocahontas County).

James Brindle, Chas. Clendenning, John Day, Thos. David, John Davis, Nathl. Day, Nathan Gillilan, (1776) Edward Kennison, John McGennis, John McNeel, John Poage (at Stephen Hole).

In the Great Levels—or Great Savannah.

Saml. Brown, Wallace Braton, James Caine. ——— Crawford, Andrew Donally, Michael Daugherty, John Daugherty, George Davison (1776) John Dyer, Wm. Dyer, Thos. Graton, Thos. Hamilton, Wm. Johnston, John Keyley, Andrew Lewis, James McClung, Danl. Murley, John Miller, Jr., Robert McClung, Wm. McDowell, Archer Mathews (1775) Hugh Miller, Danl. O'Hara, John Phillin (1775), Thos. Rennicks, John Stewart, Robert Sconce.

Other places on Greenbrier River or its water shed.

John Archer, on Warrior's Road, below Patrick Lockhart's. George Blackburn, on Indian Path, at Hominy block, jng. Wm. Massieur. John Brown, jng. Archer. Ozias Barns, James Blair, west side river, jng. Andr. Smith and Josina Buckley. Joshua Buckley, on Rich. mt. jng. Smith and Blair. Lazarus Bartley, jng. Edward Kennison. Robert Brown, on river, jng. ——— Kincaid. Saml. Brown, jng. John McClunahan and ——— Crockett. Adam Barnes. Wm. Blair, both sides river (1767). James Burnside, on river. Saml. Brown, (1776) on branch opposite Cove Creek. Robert Boyd, at foot of Soap knob. Wm. Blair. Clover Lick Creek. Wm. Crawford, jng. David Stinson and John Riley. Thos. Cooper, on Indian Creek. John Craine, on Weavers knob. Christian Cartner, on river. John Clark, jng. Saml. Brown. Chas. Clendenning, jng. John Davison and Nathan Gilliland. James Callison, north side river. Thos. Cook, west side river, near Patrick Lockhart's. Ash Craftroach, on Richland Creek. James Caine, west side river, jng. Andr. Custard and Danl. Murley. Geo. Cutlip, between Brushy Mt. and Wm. Stevenson. Wm. Dune, west side Weavers Knob. James Donally, on Hughart's Creek. John Day, on river. Saml. Davison (1776), on Cove Creek and river. Henry Davis. Saml. Delany. On Stephen Hole branch. John Davis, on river. Joshua Ewing, north side river. James Edmundson, jng. Chas. Clendenning and James Blair. Peter Elmirk, on the river. Wm. Ellum, foot of Little Nob. jng. James Thompson. Wm. Elliott, west side river, jng. James Morrow, John Gilkinson, and James Gillilan. John Ewing, west side Rich Mt. jng. James Ewing. John Ewing, west side river, below month Beaver Lick Creek. Wm. Ewing, west side Buckeye Mt. Thos. Gillespie, jng. John Clarke. James Gwin. James Graham, on river. Hugh Gillespie, west side of knob. James Gillilan (1776) jng. Robert Brown and ——— Kincaide. James Gilkinson, foot Little Mt. jng. Wm. Rennicks. James Hannah, south side river. Henry Hedry, on Mill run, br. of river. James Huston, on river jng. John Lewis. Thos. Hambleton, jng. John Stewart. Abraham Hempenstall, on river, upper end "Spars Ford". William Jamson, on river, above Big Spring. Henry Jones. John Johnson, near Thorny Thicket, jng. Hugh Miller. Wm. Johnson, (1776) jng. Michael Daugherty. Mathias Kissinger, on river. George and James Kincaide. Ed-

ward Kennison. Evans Kilbreath, east side river. John Lewis, in Richland Hollow, jng. John Brown, and ——— Huston. Charles Lewis, on Sinking Cr.; also at Great Glades. Benj. Lewis. Patrick Lockhart. James Maves, west side river. Danl. Murley, west side river jng. James Caine and Arnold Custard. Wm. Massicr, west, side river, jng. Reuben Massicr, Geo. Black, and Thos. Rennicks. James Morrow, west side river, jng. Wm. Elliott, John Gilkinson, and Wm. Rennicks. Thos. McNeil, west side river, and north side Buckeye Mt. John McGuire, Richland Creek, jng. Wm. Dyer, Geo. Thornton, Andr. Lewis and James Millican. John McCaudles, jng. ——— Crockett and John Miller. Archd. Mathews, jng. John Miller and ——— Kinney. James McGuire, in fork of New River and Greenbrier River. Robert McClenahan, jng. John McClenahan. Reuben Massicr, jng. ——— Blackburn. Josias McDowell, jng. Wm. McDowell. Wm. McDowell, jng. ——— Workman, and John Stewart, John Miller, jng. John McClenahan and Saml. Clarke. Sampson & George Mathews, on the river. Joseph Nichols, foot Howards Creek Mt. Dan'l O'Hara, Rich Hollow, jng. Jacob Lockart, and John Stewart. David Rogers, on river, jng. Thos. Hamilton. Wm. Rennicks. John Riley. Thos. Rennicks, west side river, at Camping Spring. John Reyburn, in Plank Cabin Draft. James Stinson, both sides river. Saml. Standifer, on river jng. Luke Standifer. John Stephenson. Luke Standifer, on river. John Seers, on river. Andr. Smith, west side river jng. James Blair and Joshua Buckley. John Stewart, west side river. James Simpson (1775). Hughes Cr. br. of River, below James Donally's. Geo. Thornton (1775). on Richland Cr. jng. Wm. Dyer, John McGuire and Andrew Lewis. Peter Vanlibber. Wm. Ward, (1775), west side river. John Wratbone. Dan'l Workman, hd. Culbertson Cr. jng. Jos. McClung and Chas. Donally. Joseph Williams.

Some of the Early Settlers in Harrison County.

On Ten-Mile Creek.

Vincent Hubb (1775). Thomas Harteest (1775), Isaac Horne (1775) John Jones (1774), Jacob Rees (1775), Benjn. Shinn (1775), John Simpson (1774), Joseph Wood (1775).

Elsewhere in the County.

James Anderson (1778). Joseph Coon (before 1778), Thomas Hedin (1778), Thos. Kelley (1775). John Mahon (before 1778), Norman Randall (1778). John Richards (1771). Wm. Robinson (1772). Benjamin Robinson (1775). Jonathan Shinn (1772), John Simpson (1774), Levi Shinn (1772). Wm. Williams (1772).

Early Settlers at Various Points in the State.

Michael Cresap (1775) above Bull Creek, on Ohio. James Campbell (1773) In the present county of Kanawha, where he sowed a great quantity of apple seed. Nery Couch (1767) On south branch of Potomac. Valentine Cooper, (177—), Mouth of Little Kanawha River. He was with Lord Dunmore on his campaign. Isaac Cox. (1775) In the Brooke County area. George Cox (1772) In the Brooke County area. Robert Cunningham (1779) On Cheat River. Gotlieb Gabbert, (1779) on Gauley River. John Goff (1773) On Cheat River. John Hicks (1774) In Kanawha county area. Ben. Harding (1773) Mouth of Little Kanawha River. Mark Harding (1773) same place. Patrick McElroy (1774) above Bull Creek, on Ohio. John Morris (1773). Nappers Creek a branch of the Kanawha. James Neal (1773) Mouth of Little Kanawha. He was in Dunmore's campaign, and in 1777 raised a company of regulars and joined the Revolutionary army. John Price, (1776) In Kanawha county area. Adam Stroud (1771) Between Elk and Gauley Rivers. John



Tackett (1771) Between Elk and Gauley Rivers. Joseph Tomlinson (1771) Falls of Grove Creek. Wm. Thompson (1751) Hampshire County. Martin Wetzel (1772) Wheeling Creek. Ebenezer Zane (1770) At Wheeling.

Early Settlers in Yohogania County.

On Cross Creek.

Richard Wells (1774) John Sappington, Jr., (1775) Alexander Wells, (1776) Thos. Wells (1775) Geo. Wells (1772) Edward Brown (1773) Richard Wells, Sr., (1774) Charles Stewart (1775).

On Monongahela River.

Benj. Fry (1769) Nicholas Depew—mouth of Pigeon Creek (1775) Peter Swarth—west side—(1770) Jacob Rape (1774) Abraham Fry (1772) John Rattan (1770) Nicholas Crist (1769).

Elsewhere in County.

John Quindellea (1774) On Millers Run, James Morrison (1774) Mingo Creek;—John Crist (1777), Harmon Creek; Reuben Rutherford, (1775) Waters of Shirtee; John Harvie (1775) waters of Shirtee.

Early Settlers on Monongahela.

On Middle Fork of Three Mile Creek.

Joseph Barker (1771) Jonathan Coburn (177—) James Coburn (1777) John Cox (1775) John Dent (1773) Phillip Fortney (1775).

Elsewhere.

Joseph Doddridge (1769) Phillip Doddridge (1777), John W. Dean (1775) Wm. Harden (1774) James Johnston (1775) David Kincheloe (1772)—Tygarts Valley—John McClenachen (1774) Reuben Rutherford (1774) Forks of Buffalo. Thos. Rutherford (1774) both sides of Bingham Creek, Augustus Smith (1771) on Robinsons Run—Wm. Stewart (1772), Tygarts Valley. David Shepherd (1772) Tygarts Valley, Michael Tygart (1769).

Early Settlers in Ohio County.

Richard Boyce (1775), John Black (1772) Middle Wheeling Creek, (Black went into military service) John Boggs (1778) waters of ——— Creek. James Campbell (1775) John Campbell (1773)—[He was drowned]—James Campbell, Jr. (1773) George Cox (1771) James Clarke (1773) waters of Big Wheelan. Geo. R. Clarke (1772) Grove Creek Flats. Chas. Dodd (1773). Middle Wheeling Creek. David Greathouse (1771) John Greathouse (1774) David Hopch (1775) waters of Wheeling Creek. David Hocask (1773) David Jones (1772) Grove Creek Flats.—He became chaplain in Army March 30, 1780—James Kerns (1775) Grove Creek Flats. Wm. McMahan (1775) Isaac McCracken (1776) Robert McCoy (1775) David McClure (1775) Wheeling Creek and Middle Island Creek. Sabl. McConnell (1773) Joshua McQueen (1773) John Maxwell (1773) Archibald Morrison and five others (1773) Wm. Morrison (1776) David Owings (1770) Grove Creek Flats. Stephen Parr (1773) Grove Creek Flats Andr. Robinson (1774) Wheeling Creek. Paul Stall (1773) Waters Big Wheelan. Joseph Wilson (1775) waters of Wheeling Cr.

Location of Forts Referred to in This Paper.

Fort Burnside. On Greenbrier River Location not definitely determined. James Burnside was one of the earliest settlers along this

river. In 1773 his place was well known and seems to have been a stopping place for explorers. In that year we find that John Alderson, Curtis Alderson, Joseph Carroll, Wm. Morris, John Herd, from Shenandoah county, on their way to take up lands on the New River below the falls, stopped at this place where they were joined by Archibald Taylor, Philip Cooper and Walter Kelley. Barnsides seems to have been a trader. In 1775 he had men engaged in packing merchandise to Fort Lawrence.

Fort Buckhannon—Near present site of Buckhannon, W. Va.

Fort Clover Lick. In Pocahontas County, on Clover Creek, about one and a half miles above its mouth, near the north bank of the creek, and about 300 yards from the residence of the late C. P. Dorr.

Fort Cook—In Monroe county on Indian Creek, near Red Sulphur.

Fort Coon—On West Fork river in Harrison County. The soldiers sometimes called this fort, Coontie, or Koontz.

Fort Drenbin—West of the public road (about 300 yards) in an old orchard, between Edray and Linwood and a half a mile northwest of Edray in Pocahontas County.

Fort Donally—About ten miles northwest of Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County.

Fort Hatfield—On New River.

Fort Hutter—Location not known.

Fort Beckley—At Mill Point in Pocahontas County, on the site of home of Isaac McNeel. On northern bank of Stamping Creek, about one and a half miles from Greenbrier River. Sometimes called Fort Day or Fort Price.

Fort Lowther. On Monongahela River. -

Fort Lawrence (Laurens).—In Ohio, about 10 miles north of present New Philadelphia, O. and about one mile south of Bolivar, O.

Fort McGuire's—This was probably at the point where the Greenbrier and New Rivers unite.

Fort Nutter—Within corporate limits of Clarksburg, W. Va.

Fort Pitt—Pittsburg.

Fort Powers—On Simpsons Creek, Harrison County.

Fort Vance—At present site of Mountain Grove, Bath County, Va.

Fort Warwick—Mr. Lewis locates one fort of this name in Randolph County. The one referred to in my paper was located on Deer Creek about three miles from its mouth and about four miles from Cass, W. Va. I am inclined to doubt whether Mr. Lewis is correct in calling the one in Randolph by this name.

Fort West—On Hacker's Creek, in Lewis County."

Fort Westfall—Adjoining Beverly, W. Va.

Fort Wheeling—Evidently intended for Fort Henry in Wheeling, W. Va.

Fort Wood. On Rich Creek, in Monroe County, W. Va.



EARLY PIONEER EXPERIENCES AT NORTH BEND.

MISS JEAN HOWELL, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The laws of failure and success underlying the North Bend settlement present interesting material to the philosophic historian. Here, in miniature, is the world-old interplay of personality, chance and geography. In balancing these various factors, one element seems unusually potent. During its early, crucial years, North Bend's fate was largely at the will and discretion of the man who aspired to shape its destiny—John Cleves Symmes.

In this respect North Bend differed radically from Marietta. That model settlement was smiled upon by the government and flourished—within its well-built stockades—under a democratic system of co-operation. The more unprotected outpost of North Bend received—despite many promises—little or no assistance from Congress and was ruled, for good or ill, by its autocratic, landed proprietor. Of Symmes' pioneer service in braving the dangers of the ill-famed "Miami slaughter-house", the early Cincinnati historians speak in high praise. Cist calls him "the patriarch of the wilderness", "The William Penn of the West" and finally "the Columbus of the woods exploring a new world in the wilderness and controlling all the difficulties of his situation, surrounded as he was by intractable and discontented spirits without any resources but his own indomitable energies."

One may smile at Cist's perfervid comparisons but none the less Symmes' fight was both gallant and single-handed. For the accusations against Symmes' legal transactions there is less to say. At that time land piracy flourished. The early land buccaneer had the simplified code of Kipling's 'Omer—

"And what he thought he might require

He went and took—"

If Judge Symmes "took" his Miami tract a little prior to Congress' consent, if he, at times, sold land beyond his boundaries, it is but fair to note that, in the long run, he seems always to have made an effort at fair settlement.

Symmes made his first trip into the western territory in the early summer of 1787, when he crossed the mountains and descended the Ohio river to the Falls. General Josiah Harmar, then commanding at the Falls, wrote to the Secretary of War a letter dated June 15th, 1787.

"Judge Symmes is here and has it in contemplation to establish a settlement on the Wabash."

Harmar then adds that he feels it his duty to apprise the Government at once of Symmes' plan. This letter of Harmar, written prior to the famous Ordinance, shows the suspicion, mated out at that time, to prospective settlers in the Northwest. Symmes returned to New Jersey, determined to settle in the West but desirous of locating, not on the Wabash, but in the Miami region. Politically, the time was ripe for settlement in the North West Territory. July 17th, 1787, saw the adoption of the celebrated Ordinance.

Shortly after this, Symmes petitioned Congress for a grant of two mil-



lion acres of land lying between the Great and Little Miami rivers. The negotiations concerned with this Miami Purchase dragged through months and deepened into serious disagreement with Congress.

Finally Symmes determined to set out personally for the Ohio country, make a permanent "lodgment" there, and leave to the future, the vexed adjusting of boundaries. "With a retinue of fourteen four-horse wagons and sixty persons" Symmes reached Limestone in the early fall of 1788. Here the party suffered a tedious delay until December—when there arrived, at last, the promised military aid—Captain Kearsy and an escort of forty-eight soldiers from Fort Harmar. Thus protected, the pioneer company prepared to make their venture into the dangerous Miami Country.

Judge Symmes, writing to Dayton, of New Jersey, gives an account of their voyage—

"And after collecting, with much difficulty, a small supply of flour and salt, on the 29th of January, I embarked with my family and furniture—Captain Kearsy and the remainder of his men going with me. This season was remarkable for the amazing high fresh which was in the Ohio, it being several feet higher than had been known since the white people introduced themselves into Kentucky When we arrived at Columbia, I found the place deluged in water We tarried but one night and proceeded to Losantiville; there the water began to ebb, though the town had suffered nothing from the fresh. On the second of February, I fell down to this place (North Bend) whence now I write. We landed about three of the clock in the afternoon with Captain Kearsy and his whole company which had joined him at Columbia. That afternoon, we raised what in this country is called a camp, by setting two forks of saplings in the ground, a ridge pole across and leaning boat boards, which I had brought from Limestone, one end on the ground and the other against the ridge pole; enclosing one end of the camp and leaving the other open to the weather for a door where our fire was made to fence against the cold which was now very intense. In this hut I lived six weeks before I was able to erect myself a log house."

Captain Kearsy had expected the landing of the Judge's party to be at a spot nearer the mouth of the great Miami. It had been planned that he and his company of men should occupy Fort Finney, but at the time of Judge Symmes' settling at North Bend, this was prevented by reason of the flood which then submerged the Miami lowlands and the Fort.

Captain Kearsy made his dissatisfaction over this most obvious. He had brought with him no building material for block houses and he was disinclined to convert the virgin forests into a habitation of defense. The Captain and his men were, also, without provisions. Therefore Judge Symmes was forced, from his limited store, to provide the soldiers with food. Relations were not amiable. Symmes reports in a letter the details of Captain Kearsy's subsequent departure.

"Kearsy left me at this place without even a block house, with only five men on the ground, though he had been here with his whole company



from the second day of February to the eighth day of March, in which time he had not thrown two logs together by way of defense,—though a child would have been sensible of the necessity of such a measure. I wrote to Major Wyllis for some protection; the Major was so kind as to detach Mr. Luce with eighteen men to my assistance, who reached me on the 30th or 31st day of March."

During the month of April, Mr. Luce and his men completed a serviceable block house. Log cabins for the settlers were erected and not only the village of North Bend laid out in lots, but an extra village plat nearby was also surveyed. The Shawnee Indian Chief, Blackbeard, paid an amicable visit to Judge Symmes. For a few weeks peace and prosperity flourished. The effect of the Treaty, at Fort Harmar, which had been consummated with the Indians February 9th, held for a time, hostilities in check. Boat loads of settlers, in surprising numbers floated down the broad Ohio. On April 16th another small band of New Jersey settlers swelled the numbers of the little colony at North Bend. Robert Whelan, one of this party, surveyor and promoter, writes home to New Jersey of his first impression of the Miami land.

**Unpublished Letter of Robt. Whelan to Mr. Gideon Howell, of
New Jersey.**

"North Bend, June 16, 1789.

"So we pursued our Journey about the distance of one mile, and all of a sudden we ascended a little hill, and there I saw the most Beautiful country that ever my eyes beheld.

"The Land is exceedingly Level, very Rich, being a Chocolate Colored Land in some places, black in others but all intermixed with a black Sand. The trees appear to be at such a distance that you may drive a Wagon anywhere through the Woods, and I have been told by the Surveyors, who have been to the distance of 80 miles in the Country, the most beautiful Level piece of land that our Eyes beheld, it is also exceedingly well watered, has the Most Beautiful Mill Streams on it in North America

"The Big Miami is as beautiful a River as you would wish to see, the water is very clear, having a Sandy Bottom but it runs very swift and is full of all kinds of fish. . . . There is also plenty of hunting here such as Deer, Bare, Raccoon, Beaver, Buffalo at the distance of 32 Miles at the Big Bone Lick, some of our hunters have been there and have seen as many as three hundred in one drove.

"I have killed four Bears and one Buck since I have been here and today I have Catch'd 37 lbs. of fish in one hour.

"Now Gentlemen I should be exceedingly happy to see you all settled here and as contented as I am, but if all those Blessings this Land is possessed with will not induce you to come here, you may stay in your Stony Ground as long as you please."

In letters written from North Bend, May 18, 19 and 20th, to Dayton, Symmes gives a cinematograph account of the dangers, riches and prospects of the little, unprotected settlement. The Fort Harmar Indian

truce had proved of short duration. Symmes relates how in May, Ensign Luce and his uniformed soldiers had been fired upon as they were escorting a small party of settlers up the river in a boat. One soldier, Runyan of New Jersey, was killed and six men wounded. During the next two days some fifty of the settlers fled from North Bend to the better protected settlement at the Falls.

"Beyond all doubt, we are," writes Symmes, "the most advanced settlement on the frontiers of the United States and yet all our guard is an ensign and twelve men to defend the most perilous post in the Western country."

It is significant of the mettle of the pioneer, that Symmes, during this dangerous time, could ignore the present and foresee, in glowing pictures, the future Ohio Valley. He forgot the creviced logs of the rude block house, the lurking savage, even the unpaid settlements to a suspicious Congress and wrote to Dayton, sketching the fair town and cultivated valley that were, in time, to flourish in this rich region.

"The extent of country spreading for many miles on both sides of the great Miami, is, beyond all dispute, equal, I believe superior, in point of soil, water and timber to any tract of equal contents to be found in the United States

"From this *Egypt on the Miami*, in a very few years, will be poured down its stream to the Ohio, the products of the country from two hundred miles above the mouth of the Great Miami, which may be principally collected at a trading town low down the banks of that river; here no rival city or town can divide the trade of the river."

But while the dauntless pioneers of North Bend dreamed and hoped—and primed their guns—Fortune shrugged her shoulders at the struggling out-post and passed it by. In June, 1783, Major Doughty arrived at Losantiville with one hundred and forty men from Fort Harmar and built four block houses. When these were finished, within a lot of fifteen acres reserved by the United States, he commenced the construction of Fort Washington. The Fort was completed by November. On the 29th of December, General Harmar arrived with three hundred men and took possession of it. Cincinnati, and not North Bend, was destined to rule "this Egypt on the Miami."

None the less, life at North Bend went pluckily on. Judge Symmes wrestled with the obstacles, responsibilities and criticisms inherent in leadership; and the individual pioneers quietly played their part of unrecorded fortitude. With the March high water, there had come down from Limestone, this second spring, another party of pioneers from Jersey—among them James Keen, a Captain in the Revolutionary army, his wife and family; Daniel Howell and his bride, Eunice Keen Howell and Samuel Seward and his family. Robert Whelan's eloquent letters in praise of the Miamis had brought this last group of settlers from "The Stony Ground" of Jersey.

The letters of Captain Keen and Daniel Howell portray the conditions of the North Bend settlement (in 1790) from the view point of the



pioneer citizen. Their journey down the river from Redstone had been unusually fortunate.

Unpublished Howell Letters.

"North Bend, April 2, 1790.

"We were so happy," (writes Daniel Howell) "as not to see the face of an Indian all the way though they continually watch the river and about Scioto they have taken a number of Boats and Killed the most of the Crew . . . game is plenty if the hunters dare to go out but just about here there is not much but turkeys . . . I killed a turkey today that weighed about 24 pounds."

These last settlers found, as promised, land ready to be given them and log-cabins ready built. "The in-lots contain" (explains Daniel Howell) "a quarter of an acre, the out lots contain 2—3—5 acres which lie near the city. Every one of these as well as the city lots the proprietors give away . . . the trees grow very large here such as White Oak Black Walnut and Sykemore. I have measured the inside hollow of a standing Sykemore tree which measured 15 feet across which the Indians used to live in and watch the boats at Little Miami. There is a number of trees here which are not to be found in Jersey. The coffee tree resembles the Wild Cherry tree and bares a fruit sumthing like a Chesnut. The buck eye bares a good for nothing fruit which resembles a buckeye from which it takes its name . . .

"I expect to have the forfeited part of a Section which is one hundred and Six acres as there is a number of them Expected to be had this summer but the Judg says he cant give deeds for them under seven years. But to make short of it the country is exceedingly fertile and I am better suited and contented here than I have been since I left home."

A fortnight later, however, the North Bend settlers were again living in fear and dread. The flagrant Indian depredations, which eventually led to St. Clair's tragic expedition, had begun. The ammunition furnished several months earlier by the British in the North, was now put to diabolical use.

Unpublished Howell Letters.

Daniel Howell writes April 23, 1790 thus—

"Honored father and mother, after my kind love to you I shall try to inform you of our well fare which is sumthing Melancholy on account of the Indians. We expect they will be sumthing troublesome this summer.

. . . They have killed one Stephen Carter* *in sight of our door*. They shot him through the Breast, cut his throte and scalped him."

On the same date Daniel Howell wrote his last letter to his brother, Ezekiel Howell in Jersey—"We are not at present in so good a Condition as I could wish but are going to fortify and build a blockhouse . . . This summer is Expected to be the trying point and it is to be hoped Congress will send us some relief if not we must stand for our Selves

* Son of Benjamin Carter, of Chatham.



. . . I should not wish to discourage any person from coming here for our Safety depends on the settling of the place yet I cant invite you or any of my relatives to come here till there be a better prospect of peace—perhaps the last time I shall write to you farewell."

Throughout May and June, the Indians skulked about and harried the outpost. This second summer of North Bend's was a time of anxiety and wide-spread illness. The hostilities of the Indians checked the former steady procession of boats down the Ohio. Consequently, provisions began to run low. Proper food became scarce.

Judge Symmes wrote to Dayton from The Falls, June 1st, 1790—"I am under some apprehension that the settlement at North Bend will sustain considerable inconvenience from my going abroad, so many of the inhabitants are destitute of supplies of bread and they had no resort for succor but to my assistance. . . . Could I have avoided the tour consistently with my duty I should have been glad to have done so for the present."

By the time the July heat had settled over the low North Bend valley, a new foe, more fatal than the Indians, attacked the settlement. That summer there was an epidemic of fever. It was the usual result of pioneer conditions. Entire families were stricken. The newly settled Miami region experienced, in lesser fashion, the sickness and death that so depleted early Plymouth. An example of the ravage wrought may be taken from the Keen family who suffered three deaths in one week. Sybil and Elizabeth Keen died within a few days of each other and shortly after came the death of Daniel Howell. Eunice Keen Howell's young husband. The Howell letters also record the death of Daniel Guard and chronicle the wide spread sickness. In many of the families, no single person was able to serve even the dying. There were sent back to Jersey that summer many sad letters, marked near the seal with the warning, significant phrase—"This with speed and care."

By autumn the fever had spent its force and those spared rallied for the coming decisive battles with the Indians. That long hovering war cloud was at last to break into open storm.

Captain Keen writes from North Bend, May 25th, 1791 "Boats that go up the river are obliged to keep close under the shore. The Indians ly concealed at the Mouth of Criks with long boats and canews. But few boats that go up escape them. One Boat of thirty men 8 miles above Scioto agoing up, twenty men on the land 10 in the Boat all of them on the land killed but one. Two of Nathan Hathaway's sones was among them." But Robert Whelan always optimistic of the North Bend conditions hastens a week later to send Jersey the cheering news of a prospective Kentucky expedition against the savages.

"North Bend, May 30th, 1791.

"We have the good fortune to inform you that this will be the last summer with the Indians. We have a great prospect of it at present, for Congress has requested that seven hundred horsemen from Kentucky should go out into the Miami purchase, under the command of General Scott to route their camps that they have throughout the country



and as soon as their provisions are out they are to Return and on their arrival seven hundred more to go out and so on till such time as the Grand Army arrives. They have been very Troublesome this year . . . They have even been so impudent as to come into our fields in the Day Time and Kill people at their work. You may depend upon it we live in one of the best Countries in the World and all we want is more people to settle the country, the which if it was once done we should be the Happiest people in all the World for with a little Industry we may have everything that can satisfy a craving appetite. We have plenty of provisions for ourselves now and enough to spare to Emigrants at a very Reasonable Rate. Corn for 2/ cash, good flour for four dollars per Barrel, commonly weighing upwards of Two hundred, pork and Beef is not so plenty with us in General but any one that can shoot a gun can easily supply a Family with meat. I have every Spring since I have been here seen upwards of thirty thousand Turkies cross over the Ohio from Kentucky side Buffaloe, Elk, Bear, Deer, &c. are very plenty in this country Fish is also plenty here Major Goforth last year raised one hundred and seventeen Bushels and an half of Corn from one acre and the land in general is able to bring from Sixty to one hundred I am building a two Story Hew'd log House 19 by 25 and expect to get into it in four or five weeks

From the Delicious Olives

Your friend and well wisher

in Canaan to the fruitless Sands in Arabia.

Robert Whelan.

"Send them apple, pear and Quince seeds by Silas Howell to Gideon Howell, Jacob Gard, Joseph Ward, &c."

Pursuant to the plans of Congress, two expeditions from Kentucky—the first under General Scott, the second under General Wilkinson—had already gone out against the Indians with indifferent success. St. Clair's "Grand Army" was, in August, then mustering for its ill-fated march. It is possible that the enmity between St. Clair and Symmes may have saved the latter's life.

"Not long since I made General St. Clair," writes Symmes, "a tender of my services on the expedition. He replied 'I am willing you should go but, by God, you do not go as a Dutch Deputy.' I answered that I did not then recollect the anecdote of the Dutch deputation to which he alluded. His Excellency replied: 'The Dutch in some of their wars sent forth an army under the command of a general officer but appointed a deputation of burghers to attend the general to the war that they might advise him when to fight and when to decline it.' I inferred from this that I should be considered by him rather as a spy upon his conduct than otherwise and therefore do not intend to go."

And so Symmes was not of St. Clair's Army, two thousand three hundred rank and file, that marched away to be massacred, November 4th on the field of Fort Recovery. The utter rout of St. Clair's forces was a heavy blow to the Miami frontier. Symmes wrote to Dayton in disheartened tone.



"North Bend, January 17th, 1792.

"I expect, Sir, that the late defeat will entirely discourage emigration to the purchase from Jersey for a long time. Indeed it seems that we are never to have matters right."

But by the perversity of Fate, Wayne's succeeding victory was as disadvantageous to the settlement as St. Clair's defeat. The country safe from the Indians, the settlers left the village for the larger tracts of land without its precincts.

As the safety and resources of the Miami Purchase increased, North Bend diminished. Judge Symmes writes in 1795, "The Village is reduced more than one half in its number of inhabitants since I left to go to Jersey in February of 1793. The people have spread themselves into all parts of the purchase below the military range since the Indian defeat on the 20th of August and the cabins are of late deserted by dozens in a street."

The writing of the stormy history of the Miami Purchase was an intention of Symmes' but the outline only was penned—brief, partizan, interesting.

Symmes to Dayton.

Cincinnati, June 17th, 1795.

"I have in view the compiling of a history of the Miami Purchase as it respects the different shapes it has undergone since I first formed the project . . . the calumnies, personal dangers and sufferings of the first emigrants—the nature of the original contract and how it has affected the interest of the United States—the manner in which the funding system had affected that contract—how far fulfilled and by what circumstances promoted or discouraged—with observations on the impediments thrown politically or naturally in the way of future progress, subjoining thereto copies of all the principal documents, letters, receipts, vouchers and instruments of writing, concerning the various transactions relating to the whole business. I am appraised this will be a labor of some weeks but I think it a duty I owe to my country and myself."

Symmes in comparing, in this same outline, his own and Captain Dayton's part, justly and warmly asks—"Who first formed the design and, in the adventurous search after distant lands, sacrificed rest and peace? Who had endured toil, hunger, cold and tempest without shelter in a wilderness, while exploring the country previously to the contract and afterward preserving it for years at the hazard of his life, not only from the elements but from surrounding hostile savages? Who has expended thousands of dollars in the project of establishing settlements in the country? Whose reputation as a man of sense and business would have been blasted and who would have been inevitably ruined by the undertaking had that project failed and the bubble burst?"

In one sense, the bubble did burst, for all the energy and money and suffering and foresight did not combine to establish a great city. The river route that had seemed to Judge Symmes of such commercial import, became a matter of no moment with the advent of the steam boat and the

railway. But what pioneer leader could, in 1799, have glimpsed that future?

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Mr. Wells in his magic prophecy "The World Set Free"* tells of the time when our great dusty cities will be abandoned. Perfected transportation through the air, will abolish the present necessary situation of our great towns. The commercial rules that underlay the rich city will no longer exist. Then, the people shall foregather, for the sciences and arts, in regions selected for health, for beauty. Perhaps in the spinning wheel of the centuries, North Bend, with its fair outlook on the widely curving Ohio and the misty-rimmed Kentucky hills, may yet come into its own.

THE EARLY SALT INDUSTRY IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY.

Perhaps the earliest industry in the Kanawha valley was salt making. By the way I might add the people of the United States are said to use more salt than any other people. The Kanawha Salines began about a mile or so above Charleston and extended on both sides of the Kanawha river to Malden. There were many licks and springs here but no fossil or rock salt.

This was a favorite spot frequented by both the White Man and the Indian. The Indians made salt, in their crude manner, hunted and feasted here long before the pioneer crossed the mountains. George Washington secured a tract of one hundred and thirty-five acres here, and Daniel Boone had a cabin at the licks when he sat in the Virginia Legislature as early as 1791.

We can best trace the development of this industry by the fuel used. In very early times the Indians used hot stones. They put the brine into wooden troughs, then evaporated it by dropping in stones they had heated in their camp fires. Salt thus produced was a rare article for barter with the more western tribes.

The first white people to make salt here were the captives of the Indian. When the Indians were returning from their raid on Drapers Meadow, they made a halt here and hunted and feasted while their captives, Mrs. Ingals and another woman, made salt. They used Mrs. Ingals' kettles which they had got on this raid. The salt was hard, black and strong.

Owing to the value of the licks, Joseph Ruffner bought of John Dickinson 502 acres extending up the Kanawha river from the mouth of the Elk. Mr. Ruffner preferred farming on the rich bottoms where Charleston now stands so he rented the licks to Mr. Brooks.

Elisha Brooks put salt making on a commercial basis. In 1797 he made a small furnace, set up a double row of kettles and turned off a hundred and fifty pounds of salt a day. He got his brine from the springs and used wood for fuel. Owing to the presence of iron and there being no clarifying process the salt was red in color. Notwith-

*March "Century" 1914.

standing, it had an excellent flavor and consumers would ask for "that strong, red salt from the Kanawha Licks." This salt was sold at the furnace for eight and ten cents per pound.

The sons of Joseph Ruffner, familiarly styled "The Ruffner Brothers" were pioneers in well-boring and in the use of coal for fuel. After much patient labor with the crudest of tools, they succeeded in boring, tubing and rigging a well several hundred feet deep. This is said to be the first deep well west of the Alleghanies and very probably the first in America. Now they were able to secure an abundance of strong brine. Wood was becoming scarce: the slopes had been stripped. Coal was plentiful, however, so these ingenious brothers experimented with coal and found it much superior to wood. The price of salt was reduced to four cents.

Several others engaged in the industry at this time. Among them were Mr. Whitaker, Tobias Ruffner, and Andrew Donnally. By 1817 there were thirty furnaces and fifteen or twenty wells.

In 1831 William Morris invented the "slips" which makes deep boring practicable, simple and cheap. This contrivance is known as "jars" by oil drillers. Dr. Hale says the importance of this invention cannot be overestimated. He compares it with the Cotton Gin.

In 1835 Mr. Patrick put into use the steam furnace. This gave an impetus to the industry. Deep boring was common in an effort to find stronger brine. M. William Tompkins struck a flow of gas. He utilized this in boiling his furnace. In 1843 Dickinson & Shrewsberry were boring for stronger brine when they tapped a great reservoir of gas. The gas blew out the tubing and escaped with such force that the roaring could be heard for miles. This gas well became an object of interest and the stage driver would stop to let his passengers view the spectacle.

About this time the Harvard Professor was passing through. Of course he must investigate the phenomenon. He went as near as the gas and spray would permit. He struck a match to see if gas would burn. It did—as well as other things. In a sorry plight he crept out of the river and went on to Charleston to have a physician attend his burns. When Mr. Dickinson saw the damages he sustained from the fire he was quite indignant. He called Col. Woodyard, his man of affairs, and said: "Follow this man to town, get a warrant, have him arrested and punished for wilfully and wantonly burning my property—unless you find the fellow is a natural darned fool and did not know any better." Col. Woodyard found the man at the hotel in bed and delivered the first of his orders. The astonished Professor, suffering from his burns, was slow to answer. Upon which the Colonel added: "You are to be punished severely unless you are a natural darned fool and did not know any better." The Professor, doubtless thinking he had't much reputation to lose, confessed to the second charge. Col. Woodyard readily accepted the confession saying: "My duty is done. I bid you good morning, Sir."

By 1875 many were using gas in their furnaces. Efforts were now made to get a stronger brine. Deep wells were made but the strength



of the brine did not improve. Captain James Wilson said he was going to have a stronger brine if he had to penetrate the lower regions. He struck a strong flow of gas and salt water. The brine was no better. Notwithstanding, they stopped this side the unknown regions because some thought that they might be recklessly tempting Providence.

The transportation of salt was difficult. In early times it was carried overland by pack horses. From this we get the word "pack" which is frequently used instead of "carry." It was sent down the river in tubs on rafts. Frequently a load would be lost. They say Mr. Donnally on hearing of a load of his having sunk, would ask if any men went down with the salt. On being told that they did not he would say that "It was not a fair sink." The flat boats carried quantities of it to the western markets.

The salt of the Kanawha Salines is of a superior quality:

1st. It has a lively, pungent and pleasant taste which makes it desirable for table use:

2. It is the only commercial salt that is absolutely free from sulphate of lime.

3rd. It does not cake or crust on the surface of meat but penetrates and cures thoroughly.

4th. On account of pungency and penetrating quality a less quantity will suffice.

There were several reasons for the decline of the salt industry. Stronger brines were found elsewhere that were more accessible to western markets. More paying industries in the Kanawha valley such as coal, timber, oil and gas attract the capitalists. Some of the furnaces were never reopened after the war with the Confederacy.

The only producing plant remaining is that of Mr. Dickinson at Malden. It has survived all the others and is the only one in the Kanawha valley to shut down on Sundays. It is a paying industry and is extensively known from its excellent quality of salt as well as the purity of its by-products.

Professor Ambler's paper on "John Floyd and Oregon" reviewed the efforts of Mr. Floyd as a representative in Congress from the valley of Virginia to interest the country at large in the Oregon country. These efforts covered the period from 1819 to 1829 and show the spirit of one of the pioneers of American expansion. The work of Floyd, Professor Ambler said, was a good illustration of how a study of local history or biography leads one far afield into the broader subjects of national and world history. Mr. Floyd belonged to Virginia and his body was buried in West Virginia but his interests were with and much of his energy was devoted to the building up of the northwest country that later became the subject of diplomatic adjustments between the United States and England.



SECOND SESSION FRIDAY P. M.

At the opening of the second session Professor Callahan read a telegram of greeting from Mrs. Delia A. McCulloch, of Point Pleasant, W. Va. Mrs. McCulloch is the State Historian of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

THE TORIES OF THE UPPER OHIO.

By PROFESSOR WILBUR H. STUEBERT, of the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Unlike Carleton Island and Oswego at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, Niagara at the western end, and Detroit at the head of Lake Erie, Fort Pitt did not become a permanent center of Tory and Indian operations against the neighboring settlements during the Revolutionary War. This was due, however, to the prompt action of the frontiersmen of the upper Ohio rather than to the absence of Tory leadership at Pittsburg. Lord Dunmore of Virginia, like other provincial governors, was a firm adherent of the Crown, and happened to be actively concerned, in the early seventeen seventies, about affairs at Pittsburg on account of the boundary dispute between his colony and Pennsylvania. In order to settle his dispute he determined to take forcible possession of Fort Pitt, and sent Doctor John Connolly, captain commandant of the militia of that region, to carry his plan into effect. At the end of January, 1774, Connolly with about 80 militiamen seized the fort, and "usurped the entire government of Pennsylvania" in and about that place. The name of Fort Pitt was changed to Fort Dunmore, and a new county was organized with this post as its judicial seat. While many of the old residents of Pittsburg sided with Connolly, a large number of others resisted the new order of things, and were severely treated by the commandant. Thus, Dunmore's assertion of Virginia's claims to the upper Ohio must be regarded as "part of the unjust assumption of the government of Great Britain that brought on the War of the Revolution" in the back country. The situation was only aggravated by the depredations against the Indians committed by Connolly and his adherents. Such conduct afforded cause for added complaint on the part of the inhabitants of Pittsburg and for retaliation on the part of the savages. Dunmore now found it necessary to invade the Ohio country with the militia of the frontier counties, in order to suppress the Indians and restore peace.¹

At the close of this expedition, known as Dunmore's War, Connolly decided to support British authority in America, and was directed by the Governor to disband the troops returned from the Indian Country, and try to induce the Indians to espouse the royal cause. As he was placed in command of the garrison of Fort Dunmore at this time, that post continued to be the center of loyalist activity a little longer, as it was also the scene of an Indian council in June, 1775, at which the commandant, according to his own testimony, sought to win the redmen

¹Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1869, 1-13.



for the King. In his narrative Connolly says that he "had the happiness to succeed in this dangerous and critical undertaking." He also relates how he brought together a group of his friends—"most of them either officers in the militia, or magistrates of the county" [of West Augusta]—who entered into a secret compact by which they agreed to assist in restoring constitutional government, if he could procure the necessary authority to raise men.²

In the early weeks of July, Connolly disbanded the garrison under his command, in compliance with the orders of the Governor. Dunmore, indeed, took this way of depriving the colonists, most of whom were opposing him and his agent, of the means of defensive and offensive action. The colonists, however, were not to be outdone in this manner, especially as Connolly had taken his departure from the post on July 20th, on his way to visit his patron in Virginia. They promptly seized the post, and changed its name back to Fort Pitt. Fort Blair, which stood near the mouth of the Kanawha and had been evacuated at the same time as Pittsburg, the Americans did not recover, for it was burned by some of the Ohio Indians during the summer of 1775.³

Connolly found Dunmore a refugee aboard a man-of-war at Norfolk. There he remained with the Governor for a fortnight discussing and completing plans for future operations. He was then sent to Boston to lay his plans before General Gage. According to these plans, Connolly was to proceed to Detroit, where the Canadians and Indians were to be encouraged to join him, while Captain Hugh Lord and his garrison, transferred from Fort Gage on the Illinois, was to be placed under his command. Here also he was to be supplied with the artillery, stores, and provisions necessary for his expedition against Fort Dunmore. Connolly believed that with such an equipment and force and with a commission as lieutenant colonel commandant he could, on reaching the upper Ohio, increase his army by enlisting a battalion of loyalists and some independent companies, and obtain the co-operation of the Ohio Indians. The support of the Indians he hoped to win by liberal presents to their chiefs and that of the militia of Augusta County, Virginia, by the assurance that those taking up arms would be confirmed in the titles of their lands and be granted 300 acres each in addition. Strengthened thus by reinforcements whose loyalty was to be generously rewarded, Connolly was to destroy Forts Pitt and Fincastle, should they offer resistance. He was then to penetrate Virginia with his troops and Indian auxiliaries in order to form a junction with Lord Dunmore at Alexandria, thereby severing the Southern colonies from the Northern and turning the scale in favor of the royal cause in the South.⁴

Meanwhile, loyalist traders were busy in the Indian villages, arousing the suspicions of their inhabitants against the "Long Knives," whose

² Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1909, 12, 15-17; Thwaites and Kellegher, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, 17, 18; *Pac. Magazine of Hist. and Biogr.*, Oct., 1888, 313-217.

³ Thwaites and Kellegher, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, x, xl, 20; *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., iv, 291; Proceedings, *Wis. Hist. Soc.*, 1909, 129, n. 4; *Pac. Magazine of Hist. and Biogr.*, Oct., 1888, 321, 323.

⁴ Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1909, 17-20; Thwaites and Kellegher, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, xiv, 136-143; Papers read before the Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., vol. vii, no. 6, 129, 121; *Pac. Magazine of Hist. and Biogr.*, Jan., 1889, 407-411.

hostility was represented as being directed against their neighbors of the woods, as well as against the King. But the committee of correspondence of West Augusta County was equal to the emergency: it took the initiative in bringing about a conference between commissioners representing Congress and the Western tribesmen. This conference was held at Pittsburg in September and October, 1775, and was attended—we are told—by “the largest Indian delegation ever seen at this frontier fort—Ottawa and Wyandot from the neighborhood of Detroit, Mingo, Shawnee, and Delaware from the Ohio valley; Seneca from the Upper Allegheny,” all of whom united in a treaty of peace and neutrality with the new American nation.

After a prolonged stay in Boston Connolly returned to Virginia, and received his commission as lieutenant colonel commandant from Lord Dunmore. On the night of November 13th, he started on his overland journey for Detroit, in company with Allen Cameron and Dr. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, both staunch loyalists. Cameron had been an agent in the Southern Department for Indian Affairs, under Colonel John Stuart, and was to be given a lieutenantancy in the loyalist battalion to be raised by Connolly. Smyth had been a resident of Maryland, and was familiar with the lower part of that province, through which Connolly intended to pass. He was to be appointed a surgeon in the proposed battalion. The travellers journeyed on without molestation until they got a few miles beyond Hager's Town, where they stopped at an Inn on the evening of November 19th. Here Connolly was recognized as a suspicious character, and was soon reported to the colonel of the Minute Men in the village five miles back. Before daylight next morning the slumbers of the three loyalists at the inn were broken by a body of troops, and Connolly and his companions were carried back to Hager's Town to be examined by the committee of safety. This committee did not determine the matter after the first hearing, but decided to hold a further examination at Frederick Town on the following day. At Frederick Town Connolly experienced the misfortune of having his visit to Boston disclosed by a colonel who knew him, and had just returned from Washington's headquarters at Cambridge. A few days later a copy of Connolly's “proposals,” which had hitherto been overlooked, was discovered. Having all the evidence it required, the committee of safety communicated the capture of Connolly and his companions to Congress, and asked for instructions. Congress ordered that the prisoners be escorted to Philadelphia under guard.⁶

On the night of December 28th, that is, the night before their departure for Philadelphia, Dr. Smyth made his escape from Frederick Town, bearing with him letters from Connolly to his wife and Alexander McKee at Pittsburg, to Captain Lord at Kaskaskia, and Captain Lernout at Detroit. The two latter urged to “push down the Mississippi and join Lord Dunmore.” Smyth relates something of his experiences on this flight in a memorial, which he presented to Parliament, January 1, 1784. He says that he travelled 300 miles through a hostile country and over

⁶ Pa. Magazine of Hist. and Biog., Jan., 1889, 411-417; Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1909, 19-21; Papers read before the Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., Oct., 1909, vol. vii, no. 6, 121, 122.



the Allegheny Mountains, encountering the perils and hardships of a journey in the depths of winter. He admits being recaptured, though he does not tell us that he was taken on January 12, 1776, by a party from Pittsburg. Although the letters intrusted to him by Connolly were found on his person, Smyth asserts that he effected the purpose for which he had risked his life. He adds that he was "dragged in triumph 700 miles, bound hands and feet, to the Congress," after which he suffered captivity for eighteen months. This was in Philadelphia, whither Connolly had, in the meantime, been conducted. But once more Smyth escaped, going this time to New York, where he joined General Howe in 1777. Here he was given a captain's commission in the Queen's Rangers, for which he raised—it we may believe his own statement—a corps of 185 men at his own expense, in addition to others in such number that his recruits composed the greater part of the regiment.⁷

After Connolly reached Philadelphia about January 5, 1776, he was committed to jail with Cameron on the charge of treasonable practices against America. Almost a year after this (that is, in December, 1776) Smyth and Cameron tried to abscond from their Philadelphia prison by means of a rope made of blankets and fastened to the roof. Cameron, who was first in undertaking the descent, broke both ankles by a fall of 50 feet, the rope having given way. He was found in an apparently dying condition, but on his partial recovery obtained his release in the winter of 1778, and went to England. Early in July, 1780, Connolly was permitted to go to New York. Arrangements for his exchange were completed in the following October, under a resolution of Congress. In New York his "irrepressible loyalism" manifested itself in the submission of a plan to Clinton for attacking the frontier outposts, seizing Pittsburg, and fortifying the Alleghenies, and in an attempt to raise a Tory regiment. As neither of these schemes proved feasible, Connolly was appointed lieutenant colonel commandant in the Queen's Rangers and sailed with that regiment to Yorktown in December. Soon after his arrival in the South he was given the command of the loyalists of Virginia and North Carolina on the peninsula formed by the James River and Chesapeake Bay. In September, 1781, he was again taken prisoner, but was permitted by the Governor of Virginia to go to Philadelphia, where he arrived, December 12. Here he was kept in jail until the following March, when he was paroled and allowed to go to New York, on condition of his sailing to England. This condition he promptly fulfilled.⁸

The discovery and suppression of Connolly's plot by no means terminated Tory machinations in the upper Ohio country. During the summer of 1777 the British authorities at Detroit sent out raiding parties against the frontier. These parties made a practice of leaving proclamations signed both by Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Quebec, and Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor at Detroit, beside the bodies of the slain victims. Such documents were found, for example, near Kittanning.

⁷ Pa. Magazine of Hist. and Biogr., Jan., 1889: 417; Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc., Oct., 1869, 21, 22; Thwaites and Kelllogg, *Key, on the Upper Ohio*, 138, n. 43, 139, n. 44; Memorial of John Ford and Daniel Smyth.

⁸ Papers read before the Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., vol. VII, no. 6, 126. Bur. of Arch., Ont., Pt. II, 1144-1146.



Hannabstown; and Wheeling, and promised humane treatment to all who would take refuge in the British posts, together with a land bounty of 200 acres to those serving as private soldiers in the King's defence during the War. The effect of these proclamations, coupled with the threat suggested by the dead bodies lying near them, is traceable in the Tory conspiracy that was revealed to Colonel Thomas Gaddis of West Moreland County, Pennsylvania, late in August, 1777. Doubtless, the flames of this conspiracy were fed also by the rumor, then circulating, that an army of from 10,000 to 16,000 Canadians, Indians and British was marching from Detroit to take Pittsburg.⁹

Gaddis at once warned Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown at Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahela that the Tories had associated for the purpose of cutting off the inhabitants; that Brown must therefore keep a strong guard over his powder magazine, which supplied all the Virginia counties west of the mountains, and also warn the friends of the American cause to be "upon their watch." Colonel Brown acted with promptness posting a guard of fifteen men over the magazine, while Colonel Gaddis with about 190 men went in pursuit of the loyalists. But the officer who did most in uncovering and destroying this conspiracy was Colonel Zackwell Morgan of Monongalia County, Virginia. With 500 men he hastened to "Miner's Fort" in his vicinity, whence he wrote (August 29) to Brigadier General Edward Hand at Pittsburg that he had been forced to raise all the men possible, unenlisted as well as enlisted, to put a stop to what he called "this unnatural unheard of frantic scene of mischief . . . in the very heart of our country." Morgan said that he had already taken numbers who confessed to having sworn allegiance to the King, with the understanding that some of the leading men at Fort Pitt were to be "their rulers and heads." He declared further that such of his prisoners as had made confession agreed that the English, French, and Indians would descend on Pittsburg in a few days, when the loyalists were to embody themselves and Fort Pitt was to be surrendered with but little opposition. Morgan added that he had been astonished at some of the persons taken into custody, but that he was determined to purge the country before disbanding his troops. The conspiracy proved to be shortlived under the prompt measures taken by Colonels Morgan and Gaddis, although some of its leaders remained at Pittsburg until the following spring. In the neighboring country it required only a skirmish to disperse the loyalists.¹⁰

The rumored expedition from Detroit turned out to be only another Indian raid, which was directed not against Fort Pitt but against Fort Henry at Wheeling. Probably not more than 200 redmen participated in the attacks—which were made on September 1 and 2—and instead of the thousands of white assailants confidently expected by the loyalists, there were only a few if any.¹¹

The only life lost as the result of the Tory conspiracy of 1777 was that of a loyalist by the name of Higginson or Hickson. Toward the end of

⁹Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense of the Upper Ohio*, x, 14, 21-24, 33-42, 46, 51-53, 54-68, 70, *passim*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 51-53, 142, n. 8.

¹¹Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 54-67.



October, when Colonel Zackwell Morgan and four associates were returning across the Cheat River with this man as their prisoner, Hickson was drowned. Morgan was charged with having pushed him out of the boat in which the passage of the stream was made, and the coroner's inquest found an indictment of murder against the Colonel. In consequence, the militia of Monongalia County was thrown into a state approaching mutiny, and most of the officers resigned. Fortunately, the trial, which was held at Williamsburg, resulted in Colonel Morgan's acquittal.¹²

Meanwhile, the news of the Tory conspiracy was producing intense excitement in the Western country. Many prominent men on the Ohio frontier were suspected, including Captain Alexander McKee and Simon Girty, Colonels George Morgan and John Campbell, and even Brigadier General Hand himself. In November Congress took into consideration the disaffection arising from Carleton's and Hamilton's proclamations, and appointed a commission to investigate the growth of the movement and to find ways of checking it, as well as the Indian ravages. The case of Colonel George Morgan was referred to this commission, and the officer in question was placed under arrest, while Captain McKee was confined in his farm house, and Simon Girty was sent to the common guard house. Late in December General Hand reported to the commissioners of Congress that, after sifting the evidence against these men, he had removed Morgan's arrest and placed McKee on a new parole, and that Girty had been acquitted by a magistrate. Three and a half months later the commissioners decided in favor of Morgan's innocence, and restored to him his offices and honors. Some of those involved in the conspiracy fled to the mountains. Among these was Henry Maggee from the Perth Valley in Cumberland County, who resorted with thirty others to the fastnesses of the Alleghenies. Some years later Maggee made affidavit that, in conjunction with his friends, he had induced 431 men to sign for enlistment in Butler's Rangers, whose headquarters were at Fort Niagara, but that the company was obliged to disperse when one of their number turned informer. Maggee first went to Philadelphia, and in 1778 to Nova Scotia. It is not unlikely that William Pickard and his two sons of Westmoreland County signed Maggee's agreement, for we find them joining Butler's Rangers in 1777. Alexander Robertson, an Indian trader who was one of those caught planning to destroy the powder magazine on the upper Ohio, also fled in the same year.¹⁴

The closing scene in the conspiracy of 1777 was enacted at Pittsburg, March 28, 1778, when Captain McKee, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, Robert Surphlitt, John Higgins, and McKee's two negroes made their escape. Captain McKee was the deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt. Surphlitt was his cousin, and Higgins appears to have been one of his servants. Simon Girty had long acted as interpreter for the Six Nations. During a considerable time both McKee and Girty had been regarded as suspicious characters and, as we have already seen, had been

¹² *Ibid.*, 142-145.

¹³ Thwaites and Klotz, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 128, 143, 198, n. 70, 187, n. 59, 184-187, 250; *Jour. of Cong.*, new ed., ix, 831, 942-944, 1018.

¹⁴ 2d Rep., Bureau of Arch., Oct. 1904; Pt. I, 537, 538; Pt. II, 963, 964; Pt. I, 150.



under arrest. Matthew Elliott was an Indian trader who had left Pittsburg in October, 1776, and gone to Detroit, where he arrived in the following March. There he soon excited the distrust of the authorities, was arrested, and sent down to Quebec. At length he again appeared in Pittsburg, perhaps bringing letters with him from Canada that influenced the conduct of McKee and the others. At any rate, the little party of fugitives had in Elliott a guide familiar with the road to Detroit and one eager, no doubt, to reinstate himself in the favor of the British authorities there. Conditions had become intolerable for this group of loyalists at Fort Pitt, and the alluring promises of the proclamations had certainly not been forgotten. So the party set out for Detroit, taking a course through what is now Southern Ohio, by way of Coshocton and Old Chillicothe on the west bank of the Scioto (site of the present village of Westfall) and thence through the Wyandot towns of the Sandusky River to the destination. White Eyes, the Delaware chief at Coshocton, said that this "flock of birds" imposed a song on his people that nearly proved their ruin. At the Shawnee village of Old Chillicothe McKee and his followers found James Girty, whom they persuaded to join them later at Detroit. Not long after this the refugees sent word of their coming to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and a few days later received letters by the hand of Edward Hazel, a loyalist from the States, from both Hamilton and his deputy Indian Agent, Jehu Hay, congratulating them on their escape and welcoming them to Detroit. Shortly after their arrival McKee was appointed deputy agent for Indian Affairs, Elliott, captain in the Indian Department, and Simon Girty, interpreter and agent in the secret service. Thus, these men were afforded full opportunity to instigate and take part in operations against the frontier which they had left but recently.¹⁵

Apparently, efforts were put forth at Fort Pitt to capture these deserters and others who had lately disappeared from the post. Indeed, the flight of McKee and his friends was only the most notable incident among many of the kind that had occurred at Pittsburg during recent months. In a letter of April 24, 1778, Brigadier General Hand wrote from the fort to General Horatio Gates: "Desertion prevails here to a great degree. Since the 18th Jany last, 40 men have deserted from this small garrison: last night 11, the greatest number of them of the guard, went off, & took with them Eleazer Davis . . . & a party of the country people. I believe the Devil has possessed both the country & garrison. A command of 40 men & 4 officers were detached in pursuit." One of the deserters to whom General Hand referred in this letter was a Henry Butler, who arrived at Kaskaskia on the Mississippi near the close of the preceding February. In August, 1778, the little group of Pittsburg loyalists at Detroit was increased by the arrival of James Girty, who was made interpreter for the Shawnee, and nearly a year later by the appearance of George Girty, who had made his way through the Indian Country from New Orleans where he had been a prisoner for twelve

¹⁵ Thwaites and Kelleys, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 249-253, 260, n. 14; 987, 988, 1082, 1282; Heckwelder's Narrative, 182; Rev. on the Upper Ohio, 74, 75; 2d Rep., Bureau of Arch., Ont., 1904, Pt. II, 985, 987, 988, 1082, 1282.



months. Like his two brothers, George Girty was at once taken into the Indian Department as an interpreter.¹⁶

The loyalist plots we have thus far considered had developed in western Pennsylvania but the Virginia frontier had its own active loyalists, including Messrs. Price, Bane, Shull, and Heavins, under whose leadership disaffection was rapidly spreading. By December, 1777, Tory tendencies had progressed so far in this region that Captain Thomas Burk and most of his company of militia, besides about 40 others in the Smithfield neighborhood, refused taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, despite the earnest efforts of Colonel William Preston. This oath was required by an act passed by the Virginia assembly in the preceding May. According to this act, all adult free male inhabitants of the State had to renounce allegiance to the King or be disarmed by the county lieutenant. Those who refused the oath were to be incapable of electing or being elected to any office in the State, serving on juries, suing for debts, or buying lands and houses. Colonel Preston complained that these penalties did not reach the people he was trying to bring to obedience, and he therefore urged that the law be amended. Nevertheless, the Colonel proceeded to enforce the oath of allegiance, under the penalty of disarming all recusants; and whatever other loyalists may have done, Captain Burk resigned his commission, February 18, 1778, rather than comply with the law. He explained, however, that his action sprang from conscientious scruples, and denied any intention of defying the American government.¹⁷

But in 1779 preparations were again making among the loyalists of the upper Ohio for open defiance of those in control of the frontier. Again the report became current that part of the British force at Detroit was getting ready to penetrate to Pittsburg. Doubtless, this report originated in connection with the siege of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas by Simon Girty and his painted warriors in the spring and summer of the year named. But whatever the occasion of the report, it spread beyond western Pennsylvania into Virginia and Maryland. Thereupon, James Fleming of Frederick County, Virginia, associated himself with Hugh Kelly of Maryland in organizing the loyalists on the upper Ohio. Kelly betook himself to the Red Stone settlement near Pittsburg, where he raised 175 men, while Fleming enlisted 75 at Kittanning. These details are gathered from the formal statement of their services and losses submitted by Fleming and Kelly to the authorities in London about 1782. That these preparations came to naught was due primarily to the fact that the King's troops did not make the anticipated expedition, and to the further circumstance that Kelly, together with his officers and men, was apprehended. Kelly asserts that he was condemned to be hanged, but was saved by a dispute between the civil and military authorities, and that he managed to escape to New York in 1781 (apparently in June). Up to this time Kelly had paid out—if we may accept his own statement—no less than, £1,240 (Pennsylvania currency) in meet-

¹⁶ Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 247, 278, 279, 286; 234, n. 98; 2d Rep., Bureau of Arch., Oct., 1904, Pt. II, 988, 1284.

¹⁷ Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 169, 170, 203, 204; Henning, *Statutes*, ix, 281-283.



ing the expenses and fines of himself and others in forming associations counter to those of the revolutionists. Among his helpers in this work, besides Fleming had been Adam Graves, John George Graves, and Nicholas Andrews, all of Maryland. The operations of these men had extended from Maryland into the adjoining States on the north and south, with the result that up to June, 1781, nearly 1,300 loyalists (so Kelly and Fleming claimed) were bound by an oath to serve in the Maryland Royal Retaliators, when called upon.¹⁸

The provisional enlistment of this corps formed part of a new plan to invade the frontier along the upper Ohio, and at the same time to release the large numbers of British prisoners who were confined in Winchester, Strasburg, Leesburg, Sharpsburg, Fort Frederick, and Frederick Town. The sea coast was to be molested by the privateers of the Associated Loyalists of America, whose board of directors was commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton in February, 1781, the Tories of Somerset and Worcester counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland were to be aided, should their petition meet with favor, by an expedition to be sent by General Leslie from Portsmouth to the Chesapeake; General——— Johnston was to operate with a large force in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, and Colonel John Connolly was to return from the region north of the James River in order to cooperate with Johnson. This extended plan, as it happened, broke down at two points; the appeal of the Eastern Shore Tories to General Leslie was intercepted, and the papers revealing the project and names of the loyalist leaders of Frederick County were delivered by mistake to an American officer in Frederick Town, instead of the British officer in disguise for whom they were intended. Thus, Leslie; and probably Connolly also, remained in ignorance of the proposed plan, and no time was lost in placing the conspirators of Frederick County under arrest. According to Kelly and Fleming's account, 170 of their associates, including officers and men, were apprehended at this time. Of these Adam and John George Graves, Nicholas Andrews, Peter Suman, Yost Plecker, Henry Shell, and Casper Fritchie were tried before a special court on July 25, 1781, and found guilty of high treason for enlisting men and administering an oath to them to obey the King's officers when called on. Judge Hanson, who presided at the trial, sentenced these men to be hanged on the gallows at Frederick Town, and then to be drawn and quartered. We learn that three of the seven were executed, but whether they underwent the horrors of the full sentence does not appear. At least three of the remaining four, namely, Andrews and the two Graves brothers were fortunate enough to get out of their predicament in some unknown manner, and went south to join Cornwallis, whither Fleming had also escaped. The turn that events took at Yorktown sent Fleming in haste to New York. Andrews and the Graves, however, did not succeed in effecting so prompt a departure from the scene of Cornwallis's misfortune: they were seized and imprisoned, part of the time—according to their own testimony—with the coffins intended for them in the place of their confinement. But again the unexpected

¹⁸ Report on Am. Mss. in the Roy. Inst. of G. Brit., III, 46, 47; I, 20; IV, 241.



happened. They were soon reprieved on the condition of being transported to France. Accordingly, they were sent on board the *Romulus* in York River. Awaiting a favorable opportunity, they found a way of escaping and reaching New York City in their turn. Meanwhile, the general court at Annapolis rendered the judgment of outlawry against about 100 leading loyalists, some of whom were from Baltimore County, and at later periods against about 80 others from various localities in the State, including Frederick, Charles, Kent, Montgomery, Somerset, and Worcester counties.¹⁹

When now we come to examine this series of Tory conspiracies extending from the beginning of January, 1774, to the close of July, 1782, we can scarcely doubt that the most formidable of them was Connolly's plot. Historians seem to be agreed that this was a well planned and not impracticable enterprise, fraught with "grave consequences for the back country and for the American cause in general." Fort Blair had been evacuated and destroyed during the summer of 1775, thus leaving Fort Pitt as the only American fortification on the long frontier stretching from Greenbrier in southwestern Virginia to Kittanning on the upper Allegheny, and for a brief period even this post was without a garrison. The militia of the neighboring counties supplied the only protection to the inhabitants, large numbers of whom were reported to be wholly defenseless. If the colonial authorities had been less alert than they were, Connolly's plot might have succeeded, and the whole territory of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys been evacuated, only to revert to Indian occupation. As it turned out the frontiers remained "free from any general participation in the War" for two years after the capture of Connolly and his companions. This was partly due, no doubt, to the success of the Americans in making peace with the neighboring Indian tribes in October, 1775. While this peace did not prove to be lasting, it nevertheless served a double purpose during the time of its continuance. It both averted attacks on the part of the savages, and interposed the barrier of a neutral zone between the British post at Niagara and Fort Pitt, thus preventing the threatened descent of Butler and his Tory Rangers upon the latter.²⁰

Late in August, 1777, the danger of a loyalist uprising on the upper Ohio was again menacing. In the preceding March Hamilton at Detroit had been empowered to raise as many royalists and Indians as possible to send out against the frontier; but his enlistment of a corps of loyalists progressed slowly, and it was not until Simon Girty, Mathew Elliott, and Alexander McKee arrived about May 1, 1778, that the Detroit Volunteers, Indians, and other contingents of this northwestern post gained leadership.²¹ Pittsburg had been freed from its dangerous element by the flight of McKee's party and those of like sympathies, to be sure, but numbers of Tories still remained in the neighboring region and looked for a formidable expedition from Detroit to help them restore the King's authority on the frontier. However, the only force that appeared was

¹⁹ Report on Am. Mss. in the Roy. Inst. of G. Brit., III, 6, 47; IV, 241; 2d Report, Bureau of Arch., Oct., Pt. I, 55, 56; Scharf, *Hist. of Maryland*, II, 366-368.

²⁰ Thwaites and Kellegg, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, xiv.



the band of Indian raiders, which attacked Fort Henry at Wheeling on September 1st and 2nd; and by that time many of the local royalists were themselves in the toils of Colonels Zackwell Morgan and Thomas Gaddis and their force of 600 patriots.

Again in 1779 it was the alertness of the revolutionary party in western Pennsylvania, and the failure of the authorities at Detroit to send an expedition sufficient and instructed to take Fort Pitt, that once more belied the hopes of the Tories on the upper Ohio. Instead of assisting in the conquest of Pittsburg, for which the adherents of the Crown had organized at Kittanning and Red Stone, these men had to content themselves with the news that Simon Girty and his savages had compelled the Americans to abandon the unimportant post of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas in August, 1779.

However, the Tories of the frontier continued to organize themselves for the conquest of Pittsburg and the neighboring country and to look abroad for the assistance that would make this possible. Kelly, Fleming, Andrews, and the rest scoured the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland in order to secure recruits for the Maryland Royal Retaliators, and by June, 1781, had 1,300 men sworn to support an invasion. Large numbers of British prisoners were to be rescued from various towns in these parts, thus strengthening the Retaliators, while Colonel John Connolly, formerly in control at Fort Pitt and now in command of the Virginia and North Carolina loyalists on the peninsula north of Richmond was to return and cooperate with General Johnston and his troops in reducing the Pittsburg region. It was the most elaborate scheme devised by royalists since the time of Connolly's plot for the re-establishment of the King's authority on the upper Ohio. It collapsed through being accidentally revealed at Frederick Town, before the outside assistance necessary to its success had been secured. One hundred and seventy of its promoters were promptly arrested, and a few of the ringleaders were executed about August 1, 1781. But even if this scheme had not collapsed at that time, it was nevertheless doomed to do so speedily, for the whole royal cause fell in final ruin with the surrender of Cornwallis three months later.

²¹ See my article "The Dispersion of the American Tories" in the *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept., 1914, 189.



WILKINSON'S FIRST BREAK WITH THE SPANIARDS.

By Professor Isaac Joslin Cox, University of Cincinnati.

In 1798, General Wilkinson as commander of the American army, moved his headquarters to Natchez. This event marked the close of a decade of relations between him and the Spaniards that had been partly political and partly personal, but wholly mercenary in character. With the simultaneous organization of Mississippi Territory, this military occupation marked the passing of western separatism—the issue that had justified Spain in devoting so much effort and money to intrigues with him and other western leaders. Yet with true Bourbon insistence, the Spanish officials did not entirely abandon their separatist designs, and their unwillingness to do so encouraged Wilkinson to open another intrigue with them after 1803, when the Louisiana Purchase again aroused them to the perils involved in the dreaded American expansion.

During the intervening five years, the American general occupied an indeterminate position. The Spaniards did not wholly lose sight of his possible usefulness but made no attempt to continue his pension. The Americans did not fully give him their confidence nor try to assure his financial status. Very likely Wilkinson's habits and disposition would have rendered such an effort useless. This fact may serve to explain his erratic but crafty intrigues from the day he crossed the Alleghanies to his death in Mexico City, some two score years later.

Wilkinson did not suddenly assume a new position towards the Spaniards in 1798. The break that then occurred was preceded by months of suspicion on their part and by reluctant uncertainty on his own. On June 18, 1795, Don Manuel de Gayoso, Spanish commandant and governor in the Natchez district, expressed his distrust of him. He believed that the General was ready to betray the interests of Spain in order to recommend himself to the American government. Moreover, Gayoso found the method of carrying on negotiations with him and of making remittances through Thomas Power and other agents, both difficult and expensive.¹ In the following May a supreme council of state, while mentioning Wilkinson's recent services in defeating French intrigues in the West, emphasized the enormous reward he had secured for these services, and for the attempt to separate Kentucky from the Union, although one of his messengers had been robbed and murdered. In view of the recent treaty with the United States, the council directed that all further attempts to encourage western separatism should cease, except so far as necessary to counteract British intrigues.²

Despite this reference to the Treaty of the Escorial, which they had just signed and ratified, the Spanish authorities did not propose to carry it out. They were as little inclined to discontinue their intrigues with the western leaders. But they must temporize with the latter, and while seeking pretexts to repudiate the treaty, avoid arousing the suspicions of the American administration. Above all they must prevent open hostilities.

¹ Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to Carondelet, June 18, 1795; and December 3, 1795. Legajo 43. *Papeles procedentes de la isla de Cuba*, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville.

² *Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado, 1796-1799*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.



Apparently they and the American general were of the same mind. Both wished to avoid an indiscreet course, if useless, otherwise not.

Washington and his cabinet officers were as suspicious of Wilkinson as the Spaniards. When they sent Andrew Ellicott to represent the United States on the southern boundary commission, they instructed him to observe the general's conduct. Ellicott did not encounter him in Cincinnati, as he had anticipated, but at the mouth of the Ohio, in December 1796, he was joined by Philip Nolan. Notwithstanding his previous warning, Ellicott seems never to have distrusted this man, who was well known as one of Wilkinson's most efficient agents—a "child of his own raising"—as the general termed him. The quaker commissioner and the horse trader journeyed together down the Mississippi and the latter acted as intermediary in meeting the various Spanish officials. So effective was his agency during the trying months of 1797 that Ellicott formed for him a personal friendship and afterward spoke highly of his evident attachment to his country's interest and welfare.²

Possibly Nolan, the agent, but reflected the policy of Wilkinson, the principal, in thus currying favor with the boundary commissioner. Both were adepts in consulting their personal interests. At the same time Nolan retained the confidence of Baron de Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, to whom he had frequently borne Wilkinson's missives; although Gayoso at Natchez, as the trader later wrote, "ungenerously suspected him for a spy." Following his double dealing, American and Spaniard alike assisted generously in organizing his next expedition to gather wild horses in Texas. Carondelet, who regarded him as a "charming young man," furnished him with such a passport that he apprehended "neither risk nor detention." Even the suspicious Gayoso gave him a portable sextant. Ellicott aided him "in acquiring a more perfect knowledge of astronomy and glasses." He carried a good time piece and suitable instruments for map making. One of his party was a "tolerable mathematician." Ten good riflemen assured him protection in the "little fight" with the Indians upon which he "calculated." Truly his equipment was a complete one, if somewhat peculiar for a mere horse trader.

Possibly a later statement of Wilkinson may throw some light on Nolan's purposes at this time. Writing in 1806 to his friend, Senator John Smith, of Ohio, he said with reference to Santa Fe: "I have been reconnoitering and exploring the route [thither] for more than sixteen years:—I know not only the way, but all the difficulties and how to surmount them." Samuel P. Moore's report of a conversation with Nolan is to the same effect. Nolan offered him a share in the horse trading privilege that he obtained from Carondelet. In return for this privilege the governor expected Nolan to furnish him with plans of the country he visited. "But," Nolan told Moore, "I shall take care to give him no information, unless such as may be calculated to mislead him. Whatever discoveries I can make shall be carefully preserved for General Wilkinson, for the benefit of our government."

²For the relations of Ellicott and Nolan with the Spaniards cf. *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. X, 23-27, where the sources are given.



Nolan also expected the United States to conquer Mexico, and in this movement, hoped for a "conspicuous command", through his patron's influence. His statements and Wilkinson's attitude then and thereafter indicate that the General and his protege were both plotting against the interests of the Spaniards with whom they were but recently engaged in disloyal intrigues. Their actions at this time were designed to gain both the Americans and the Spaniards, or to repudiate either or both, if such action should become necessary to advance their private fortunes. In this course Nolan seems more straightforward than Wilkinson. At least he later fell the victim to the resentment of the Spaniards. Within a few years Wilkinson definitely renewed his shady intrigues with them.

Gayoso had no sympathy with his chief's attitude towards the young American. He gave Nolan a sextant, as we have seen, in addition to showing him many other attentions, but he advised Carondelet not to let him leave New Orleans. "He will take an active part against us; he is popular and enterprising; secure him," he wrote. Yet he called himself Wilkinson's friend and bore himself as such towards Nolan. But the trader could meet him in dissimulation. He accepted Carondelet's favors but revealed that official's views to Ellicott. He characterized the Natchez commandant as "a vile man and (his) implacable enemy." Carondelet was soon to give way to Gayoso and the former's passport would no longer protect him. Yet he was determined to risk another venture into the wilds of Texas. Accordingly he exerted himself to maintain friendly relations between Ellicott and Gayoso, and when order was restored at Natchez, he left that place in July, 1797, for the westward.

While the general and the horse trader were working to circumvent the Spaniards, the quaker surveyor had been craftily directing his efforts to the same end. In due time the prevailing uncertainty regarding the future status of the Natchez district, culminated in an open insurrection against the wavering Spanish authority. Shortly before this occurred, Carondelet determined to make one more attempt to stem the American advance, by appealing to the mercenary instincts of the former disunionists.—To this end he commissioned Thomas Power to visit Kentucky and then pass on to Wilkinson's headquarters at Detroit. He was to offer the former separatists a bribe of a hundred thousand dollars to bring about the separation of the West from the Union, with the promise of a second hundred thousand, twenty field guns, and other munitions of war, as soon as the projected revolution was under way. Carondelet had feared to compromise Wilkinson by writing to him since Power's unsatisfactory interview of the previous year; but now a message to the American commander in regard to the delivering of the forts above the new boundary line formed a convenient pretext for his agent's journey.¹

At Natchez Gayoso, who claimed to be ignorant of the real purpose of Power's journey, furnished him with money for his expenses and additional letters to Wilkinson. From this place Powers addressed a most fulsome letter to Carondelet. Apparently the agent realized that his

¹ Gayoso to the Prince of Peace, June 5, 1798, *sumamente reservado*, No. 29, Legajo 43. *Papeles—de Cuba*.



journey was likely to be the last one of this sort. He promised to use the utmost care and circumspection in order to avoid suspicion, but to bend all his efforts to accomplish his superior's purpose. He assured Carondelet that Wilkinson and his party, in which he included George Rogers Clark and La Chaise, were thoroughly devoted to the Spanish interests and that the common people would follow them blindly. Carondelet's proposition was so favorable to the Western communities that it would be madness for them to do otherwise.

Owing to the fact that he had been stopped and searched at Fort Massac the preceding year, Power now journeyed overland through the Cumberland district. But Ellicott, who knew of his journey through Daniel Clark and Nolan, had warned some of his friends against the Spanish agent. He therefore experienced equal difficulty in reaching Kentucky by this route. Here he delivered Carondelet's proposals to Sebastian, now the chief Spanish pensioner of that state, since Wilkinson had entered the army. He promised that if any American should lose his office because of connection with the enterprise, Carondelet would fully indemnify him. He suggested that the Yazoo line should be the southern boundary of the proposed independent western state, and that the Spaniards should retain the forts below that point, as well as the one above it at Chickasaw Bluffs.

Sebastian did not regard the time as favorable for the project but offered to communicate it to his friends and to inform Power of their decision, or go in person to New Orleans. Power then journeyed to Wilkinson's headquarters at Detroit where his arrival caused the greatest consternation. The general went through the form of arresting him, to divert suspicion from himself, and sent him under a guard to Madrid. This, he explained, was to prevent such treatment as Power had received at Massac the preceding year.

Before Power left Detroit he managed in an interview with Wilkinson to disclose Carondelet's flattering invitation to make himself the Washington of a western revolution. Like Sebastian, the general felt that the time was not propitious. The treaty had ruined his labors of the past ten years. By giving the western people the free navigation of the Mississippi, the Spanish government had removed any desire on their part to separate from the Union. His honor (always a tender point with him!) and his employment would not permit him to continue his former connections. He had destroyed his cipher and his previous correspondence as an earnest of his desire to cut loose from these questionable intrigues. He advised the Spanish government to carry out the treaty. But Wilkinson speedily showed that his conversion was not permanent by suggesting to Power that he might obtain the governorship of Natchez, which post would afford many opportunities for new projects. He likewise showed his ruling passion when he asked Power if he had brought the six hundred and forty dollars that the Spaniards still owed him. But the difficulties had been too great to permit the agent to bring this.

In addition to his manifest desire to retain his Spanish pension, while secretly encouraging Nolan's explorations, Wilkinson had possibly made efforts to ally himself with a third illegal enterprise. During the preced-



ing winter he had been in Philadelphia, evidently to advance his military ambitions. While there he seems to have been consulted by Senator Blount of Tennessee, who was organizing an expedition to conquer the Floridas and Louisiana, in order to keep them out of the hands of the French. The British, as well as the southern Indians and frontiersmen, were to aid him in this enterprise, which afforded the Spaniards a convenient pretext for not carrying out their treaty with the United States.

According to John D. Chisholm, who was Blount's chief agent among the southern Indians, Jefferson as well as Wilkinson was likewise interested in the plan. One evening Chisholm called on Blount and found the others at dinner with him. They evidently expected him to discuss the details of the project, but he was unwilling to do so in the presence of the commander of the armies and the Vice President. It was highly significant, to say the least, that Jefferson was in such company. Possibly this may explain why later, as president, he found it necessary to support Wilkinson so effectively. At any rate, the general had some unshakeable hold on him. It was also at this time that Wilkinson called Jefferson's attention to Nolan and aroused his curiosity in Texas.⁵

Wilkinson was thus encouraging two secret projects against the Spaniards as well as holding a prominent military position that required him to oppose them openly. In keeping with the latter purpose he directed to Gayoso, now governor of all Louisiana, a strong protest against the failure of the Spaniards to carry out the treaty and their interference with the Indians.⁶ Perhaps he was encouraged to make this protest by Nolan's report of Gayoso's personal hostility, as well as by national considerations. Wilkinson's messenger in delivering this protest was Thomas Freeman, Ellicott's subordinate. In view of Freeman's equivocal position toward Ellicott and his marked friendliness for Wilkinson, the latter, on this occasion, may have instructed him to make some oral communication that differed greatly from his written missive.

At any rate, Gayoso wrote his superior that he was determined not to break openly with Wilkinson, who was about to move the bulk of his army to Natchez. Nor did he give up hope of ultimately winning him and his associates to the Spanish plan of western secession. Ellicott had some inkling of this and already in November, 1787, he informed the secretary of state that Carondelet, Gayoso, and Wilkinson had agreed upon a plan of common action for making the Spanish colonies independent and including the western country in the movement.⁷ This was manifestly absurd and served to blind Pickering and Adams to the real danger in these western intrigues. Ellicott took measures at Natchez to circumvent Blount's plan, which he believed to be part of the larger revolutionary project. He also charged Wilkinson with inciting the Indians to break up the boundary survey. The Quaker was undoubtedly too censorious at this period, but there was much in Freeman's subsequent actions to arouse his suspicions against him and Wilkinson, who secretly abetted him.

⁵ For a sketch of the Blount Conspiracy, with references to source material consult the article mentioned in note 3, 55, 64-66.

⁶ Claiborne, *J. F. H. Mississippi*, 192.

⁷ Wilkinson, *Memoirs II*, App. XXXI.

In May of 1798, Sebastian came down to New Orleans, to repeat what he had told Power that the time was unfavorable for attempting the secession of the West. The western people were discontented over the revenue policy of the federal government. Should there be no change in this policy, they might attempt separation, but their own resources were sufficient to assure them success. They might, however, wish to treat with the Spaniards for the navigation of the Mississippi, upon which their prosperity depended.

Despite this assertion, Gayoso felt that in a crisis the western people must appeal to Spain or Great Britain for assistance. He therefore, wished to have adequate powers and resources to meet such an emergency and forestall the British. By this time the Spaniard felt that Sebastian, Wilkinson and their associates, were hopeless mercenaries, while the common people were ignorant and disorderly. His opinion was confirmed by a cipher letter which Wilkinson conveyed to him under cover of one to Sebastian. The general wrote: "Observed everywhere, I dare not communicate with you, nor should you try to do so with me. My name has been used without my knowledge and consent; Marshall has attacked my honor and fidelity. You should not trust the western people, because some are traitors. Fortify your frontiers well. While I remain as at present all is safe. I have buried my cipher, but I will recover it. You have many spies in your country. Do not mention me nor write my name. I implore you in the name of God and our friendship. Fort Pitt, fifth of March."

In warning the Spanish governor against the western people, Gayoso noted that Wilkinson was contradicting his earlier views. He believed that the general, led by circumstances to renounce his former Spanish connections, was determined that neither Sebastian nor any other Kentuckian, should profit by continuing them. Moreover, with his knowledge of Carondelet's western intrigues, Gayoso believed that the general was preparing to take a position in the Natchez district so as to cut off all possibility of continuing them. "Knowing as I know the character of Wilkinson," he wrote Godoy, "I shall not be surprised if his conduct is as I suspect." We now know that he did not surmise half the truth. Yet he determined not to break with the American general, and flattered himself that he would be able to build up a party among the Americans, equal to any their own leaders could gather.⁸

After these events, the arrival of Wilkinson at Natchez in midsummer, 1798, naturally aroused much interest. Gayoso proceeded to organize the militia of Louisiana, and this apparent act of undue caution aroused Ellicott to predict that Spain would shortly lose all its territory east of the Mississippi. Before Wilkinson reached Natchez, Daniel Clark the elder, wrote to express his gratification at the early prospect of renewing his acquaintance. He counseled the general to look out for the "one thing needful," and showed that he did not depreciate his own advice, by offering to sell the government land for a new fort just above the boundary line. As an additional inducement to take this land he stated

⁸ Cf. n. 4.

that it was in the vicinity of the Red River, "which you know takes a long course westward into the country of —— good stuff." Clark also wanted to eat his Christmas dinner in New Orleans with "governor Wilkinson," and offered the assistance of his whole family to bring this about. "I tell you, General, you must take New Orleans ere a permanent tranquility can reign in the United States or agriculture and commerce can flourish."⁹

It was into the country mentioned by Clark that Gayoso's enmity was even then pursuing Nolan. He wrote to the governor of Texas advising his arrest as a "dangerous man and a sacrilegious hypocrite who had deceived the previous governor to get a passport." His knowledge of the interior of Mexico "might be of injury to the Spanish Monarchy." Fortunately for Nolan the governor of Texas died shortly before this letter arrived, and the officer temporarily in charge forebore to open it, pending the arrival of the regular appointee. Nolan was thus treated with the utmost deference, and never learned of his peril until his return to Natchez early in 1799. By that time his arch enemy Gayoso was also dead.¹⁰

During his absence, Jefferson had written to ask for information concerning wild horses west of the Mississippi. The letter passed through the hands of Daniel Clark, Junior. The latter told of Nolan's whereabouts spoke highly of his prospective services to the United States, and warned the Vice president to say nothing that would put him in jeopardy. On Nolan's return, after his fortunate escape, Clark proposed to send him on to Philadelphia for a personal interview with Jefferson and to pay him with a flattering letter in which he mentions the discoveries that had already led him to bring the trader to Jefferson's attention. With this introduction, the resulting interview between vice president and western horse trader must have been an interesting one.¹¹

After his return from Philadelphia, Nolan set out on his last expedition to the westward. With his death in central Texas, March 21, 1801, Wilkinson and his friends were "cut off from (their) usual communication with that country." To them his loss was a great one. As Clark wrote: "Altho his eccentricities were many and great, yet he was not destitute of romantic principles of honor united to the highest personal courage, with the energy of mind not sufficiently cultivated by education, but which under the guidance of a little more prudence might have conducted him to enterprises of the first magnitude."¹² The restless spirit of adventure that he represented long survived him to the great discomfort of his slayers.

The premature revelation of the Blount conspiracy destroyed whatever hopes Wilkinson may have had in that direction. Fortune, however, favored him in one respect, for Adams refused to entertain Ellicott's charges seriously and Hamilton believed that he should be encouraged to continue in a military career. Thus he remained at the head of our

⁹ *Letters Received*, War Office.

¹⁰ Cf. n. 3, 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹² *Ibid.*, 58.



little army, after the hostile flurry with France, the political revolution of 1800, and the republican reduction of 1802. During this period he apparently maintained only such frontier relations with the Spaniards as his official position demanded. He corresponded with Gayoso and his successors over the return of deserters and fugitives from justice. He became anxious over the prospect of the French as neighbors. He interested himself in securing the navigation of the Mobile. In addition he negotiated an important series of treaties with the various tribes of southern Indians. Yet it was never Wilkinson's lot to be long free from criticism even if he generally escaped official censure. There were later charges that he tried to arrange with Gayoso a joint contract for supplying the American troops with provisions; and that he wished to exchange a claim against the Spanish government for Gayoso's plantation at Natchez. The latter deal was soon declared off, for, as Wilkinson wrote, "the Mingo (i. e. Gayoso) asks too much for his dirty acres." But neither Ellicott nor Clark, who were the authors of these charges, attempted to make them public at this time.¹³ Perhaps they were discouraged by the indifference of their superiors, whether Federalists or Democrats, to other disclosures.

There were also subsequent charges that Wilkinson at this period greatly padded his expense accounts. He certainly used them to hide his treasonable financial dealings with the Spaniards in 1804. The administration then seemed to take no account of them. On the other hand it paid as little attention to his request to be kept at Ft. Adams as much as possible, to avoid needless expense in moving about; or to be placed in charge of the land office in Mississippi territory. With his own land speculations and the nearness of the Spaniards, this would prove altogether too dangerous a situation for him.¹⁴ Thus he continued, distrusted by both Spaniards and Americans, but rewarded with a high command, until the Louisiana Purchase gave him an unexpected opportunity to resume his nefarious financial intrigues.

LAND GRANTS IN SOUTHEASTERN OHIO.

By PROFESSOR H. W. ELSON, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

We had intended to treat this subject in a humorous way, as it lends itself readily to such treatment, but after having a half hour's production all blocked out, with many fine sallies of wit, lo, along comes a mandatory letter from our worthy president reminding us of the 20 minute limit of time. Being an advocate of implicit submission to authority, and of exercising due respect to your superiors, we set about (this is the historico-editorial we) we set about recasting the whole. Among other things we were obliged to trim out a great number of original jokes and anecdotes many of which were of most facetious nature, and would have

¹³ Clark, *Proofs of the Corruption of General James Wilkinson*, 61.

¹⁴ *Letters Received*, War Office.



proved very regaling and refreshing to this company. Please place the blame for this where it belongs,—on Dr. Callahan, who scarcely seems to be himself since July, 1.

This reduces us to the Landgrants subject, and this we divide into four main parts with many subdivisions.

1. The Father of his Country hunting deer and turkey on the banks of the Ohio.
2. The Ohio Company.
3. The famous Seven Ranges of townships.
4. The settlement of the city of the Gauls farther down the river.

The first serious effort of the white people to plant permanent settlements along the upper Ohio dates back to 1748 when the original Ohio Company was formed. This company was composed of a number of Virginia gentlemen, two of whom were half brothers of George Washington, and it received a grant of half a million acres on both sides of the upper Ohio, on condition of early settlement. The formation of this company roused the French, who also claimed the Ohio country, and led to the burying of the leaden plates by Celeron in 1749. The following year the Ohio company sent Christopher Gist to explore the Ohio Valley, but no settlement was attempted, as the French and Indian War soon put an end for the time to all such dreams.

When the war was over and when the Fort Stanwix treaty with the Indians, which released from Indian control a vast tract south and east of the River Ohio, was signed, interest in Ohio colonization was revived. A land company called the Mississippi Company was formed in 1763, with George Washington and Benjamin Franklin as leading promoters. But the Quebec Act of that strange freak of humanity, George III, put a stop to the project. What was the underlying purpose of the Quebec Act no man has yet been able to determine. A little later was formed the Walpole Company, named from a London merchant, and this company was merged in 1770 into the old Ohio Company. But behold, now comes the war of the Revolution and for nearly two decades longer the advance of civilization in Ohio was deferred.

The war over and Virginia and New York having given up, under great pressure, their shadowy claims on the Ohio country, the time at last came for the transplanting of eastern civilization in the wild region known as Ohio.

One day in March, 1786, there was a meeting of a number of Massachusetts gentlemen at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston and here was formed the Ohio Land Co., the company that was destined to do something. The leading spirits were Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler. The purpose of the Company was to raise a million dollars through selling stock and to secure from Congress a land grant on the Ohio.

On May 20 of the preceding year 1785, that honorable body passed an ordinance providing for the survey and sale of wild lands in the western country. Accordingly a band of surveyors, accompanied by a small body of troops, were sent out. They began their work in December,



1785, and spent two or three years in the wilderness surveying the Seven Ranges and meantime Fort Harmar was founded at the mouth of the Muskingum. Joseph Buell, a member of this company, kept a diary for more than two years, which is now very interesting reading to the student of pioneer history. From this diary we learn that the soldiers, who received but \$3.00 a month, were among the most worthless and depraved of the remnants of the old Revolutionary armies, and our diarist believed that this fact would in a large measure account for St. Clair's defeat a few years later.

He tells us that the men were held under the severest discipline, scarcely a day passing without some one being called on to undergo the enjoyment of 100 lashes. On one occasion three young men were shot for desertion. It seems that there was no physician with the company, though there was much sickness.

We must get back to our surveyors in the woods and the Seven Ranges. For many months they labored (the surveyors we mean) to check off the townships and lots, later called sections, each having 360 acres. The ranges were to begin at a point on the west bank of the Ohio where the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, if extended, would cross the river. The ranges were divided by north and south lines six miles apart and the townships were divided by east and west lines crossing these at right angles, also six miles apart. A township, therefore, was six miles square, and was divided into 36 sections, the sectional lines being one mile apart, the sixteenth section of each township being set apart for the support of schools.

The Ohio Company sent Dr. Mannasseh Cutler, in July, 1787, to lay the matter of a land purchase by the company before Congress, then sitting in New York. After long negotiation he contracted for a million and a half acres (afterward reduced to 964,285 acres) at a dollar per acre. At the advice of Thomas Hutchins, geographer of the United States, the tract was located on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers and comprised a large portion of the Seven Ranges of townships and much land further west. The company, however, failing to raise and pay over the full amount agreed on, the number of acres was reduced, as noted above, and in 1792 Congress was induced to reduce the price to two-thirds of a dollar per acre. Meantime, it was decided to found a town at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum and a large tract of land had been reserved for the purpose. Rufus Putnam was employed by the company at \$40 a month as leader of the new colony. A company of 42 boat-builders and mechanics, under the command of Major Hatfield White, being sent in advance, reached the Yohogany River at Sumrill's ferry 20 miles above Pittsburg, late in January, 1788. A few weeks later Putnam and his company arrived. By the second of April a boat had been completed. By the builders it was called the Adventure Galley, but Putnam christened it the Mayflower! Embarking on April 2, they landed at the mouth of the Muskingum on the 7th and laid the foundations of that interesting city. The rest of the story is well known and need not be retold here.



Other settlements were established at Belpre and Waterford, but as in all three towns there were in July, 1793, only 183 men capable of bearing arms, it is clear that the effete East was not specially eager to pour its population into the wild regions of the West. It may be added that the whole Northwest Territory did not contain 5000 free male inhabitants before 1798. In that year a territorial government was established and by proclamation of Governor St. Clair the first election for a legislature was held on December third. In these democratic days it seems odd to note that in those days a man could not serve in the legislature unless he owned 200 acre of land, nor could anyone vote unless he was possessed of 50 acres.

The first two representatives from Washington County, which then comprised a large part of southeastern Ohio, were Colonel R. J. Meigs and Paul Fearing. They were summoned to meet in Cincinnati in January, 1799. Why they did not float down the river the records do not say. They traveled through the wilderness on horseback, carrying their provisions with them. They followed the bridle paths, swam their horses across the streams, and camped out nights. But there were no barbed wire fences, fortunately. Many a promising career has been cut short by a barbed wire fence. The governor vetoed a number of the measures passed by this first territorial legislature, much to the chagrin of the men who passed them. And this interference of Gov. Arthur St. Clair in the law-making no doubt accounts for the fact that when Ohio framed her first constitution in 1803, and her second in 1851, the governor was granted but meagre power and was denied the right to veto an act of the legislature.

In January, 1795, the Ohio Company decided on making further surveys westward of the Seven Ranges. A party of surveyors were thereupon sent out accompanied by a guard of fifteen armed men, for the Indian war was not yet over. Late in January they proceeded up the Hocking River in canoes, which shows that it was an open winter. Among other things the surveyors on this expedition chose out the two townships that had been reserved in the land grant for the founding of a university. This reservation had been provided for indirectly in the famous Ordinance of 1787. The two townships now selected were the eight and ninth in the fourteenth range, afterward known as Alexander and Athens townships in Athens County. The town of Athens was founded a little later and also the college, which became the Ohio University. This was the first institution of collegiate rank in the Northwest Territory, and indeed the first in America west of the Alleghany Mountains, except Transylvania in Kentucky, which claims to have been founded a year or two earlier.

It might be interesting to note that the University during the first 40 years of its existence received a meagre support because of the low valuation of the lands of these townships, which it had leased out, and when in 1840 it was determined to reappraise the lands at a much higher rate a veritable hornet's nest was stirred up. The farmers ob-



jected to paying a higher rate to the University, appealed to the legislature, and won their case. The University by an act of 1843 was enjoined from raising its rents to the occupants of the two townships. The rents by the way were pitifully small for example the dues to the University for the lot on which my house was built was 18c per year, and a fee simple deed was purchased a few years ago for five dollars.

Had the original contract been carried out, had the lands of these two townships been retained as the property of the University with the right of reappraisement and exempt from state taxation, the Ohio University would today be one of the richest institutions of its kind in the country. Moreover, the act of 1843 is no doubt unconstitutional and would not bear the test of the courts, for certainly it is an impairing of the obligation of a contract. But the matter has not been tested in the courts and by way of compromise our contemporary legislatures make partial restitution for the sins of their predecessor by making annual grants in money for the support of the institution.

Here we are obliged to close, for two reasons: The fact that such literature should not be administered in wholesale quantities, and second, the glare in the chairman's eye informs us that our time is up. Thus we leave undeveloped two of the four grand divisions of our subject. Our original intention was to blame this unfortunate circumstance on the party in power and thus prove ourself a true American, but we hesitate to burden the administration. Has it not enough to do in defending the Underwood tariff and explaining affairs in Mexico?

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE MOUNTAIN COUNTIES OF EASTERN KENTUCKY AND WEST VIRGINIA.

PROF. J. R. ROBERTSON, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

Since my acceptance of a place on the faculty of Berea College it has been a part of my duty to become acquainted with the conditions and problems of the mountain sections of the states of the south to which the name Appalachian America has been given, in recognition of its right to be considered a phystographic region. It is to this section that my college seeks especially to minister.

Within this region lie the mountain counties of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia and as we consider them today they may fitly be represented as the upper edge of the Ohio Valley skirting to the east and south its richer lowlands. It is in this upper edge that many of the rivers rise which flow into the Ohio and it is the soils eroded from the higher lands that have, in the course of time, given to the valley a part of its greater depth and richness.

In speaking of the mountain counties it is necessary at the beginning to agree upon a basis for such a classification. For the purposes of this paper it has seemed sufficient to include in the list those counties in which the surface of the ground is, throughout one-half or two-thirds of the county, so uneven and rugged that it would be represented on an



ordinarily accurate map as mountainous. I have limited rather than enlarged the number of such counties, as they are sometimes given by students of this subject. Of these there are 35 in Kentucky and 27 in West Virginia.

The linking together of the mountain counties of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia is suggested by the fact, that, together they constitute the highland edge of the topographical region with the life and history of which this Association is especially concerned. Perhaps it is wholesome to break over state boundary lines at times and group sections along physiographic lines. Certainly many suggestive similarities and differences are thus brought to light that might otherwise remain obscure.

When we look at the mountain counties of Kentucky and West Virginia, historically, we find that in origin they are similar. Both were included in the grant to the old colony of Virginia and she looked upon the settlers who gradually drifted into these extreme western sections as her "good people" on "the western waters."

Both sections were populated by essentially the same class of people, made up of that sturdy stock which moved up the Virginia Valley, or followed the water courses from the tidewater up into the highland, going ever westward. For many years they hovered along the line drawn by King George in his proclamation of 1763 and pushed across at the first opportunity that was given by the treaty with the Indians in 1768. In the archives of Virginia are Petitions from the settlers in both sections asking for a confirmation of land titles or for large grants of land in the new sections.

Both populations were active in the western movements of the Revolutionary War from the Battle of Point Pleasant in West Virginia, which preceded the outbreak of the war in the Atlantic colonies, to the Battle of Blue Lick in Eastern Kentucky, a battle which was fought after the war with England was over.

Both populations participated in the War of 1812 sharing together the experiences and interests of the border counties. Both populations actuated by social and economic interests opposed the peculiar institutions of the southern lowlands and fought for the Union in the Civil War. Both populations were concerned in the rise of the Republican Party and stood for its policies in legislation.

Both sections are equally rich in traditions of pioneer heroism and in many a remote corner are still to be found reminders of that plain home-span civilization in the form of some custom, some phrase of English, or some ingenious implement that is remarkably fitted to its use. In both sections, alike may be found places where the religious controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are still living issues, and where the hand of an organized society does not always rest heavily on the freedom loving mountaineer.

In both sections the log cabin has sheltered large and vigorous families and in both are to be found those who know what it means to haul a load of logs or of corn "up stream" or to cultivate an "upright farm." Both have felt the sensation of neglect in the halls of legislation and



have known the sting that comes from being considered a social or political inferior. And lastly both have experienced the effects of isolation, a fact which perhaps more than any other is responsible for conditions that still exist and, in some respects, differentiate the mountain counties from the remaining parts of the valley states.

There are various ways of measuring or testing the social conditions of any section of country. In the time at our disposal this afternoon we can only see a few of the characteristics in which the mountain differ from the lowland counties, and Eastern Kentucky from West Virginia.

In area the mountain sections of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia are approximately the same, in the one 15,251 square miles and in the other 12,779 square miles. This includes about one third of the whole area of Kentucky and about two thirds of the area of West Virginia.

In population the two mountain sections are also about the same, since there are 586,692 people in West Virginia and 561,881 people in Eastern Kentucky. Both sections have been increasing rapidly during the past decade West Virginia at a rate of 42 per cent and Eastern Kentucky at a rate of 18 per cent. The mountain counties of West Virginia broke earliest from their isolation and have advanced most rapidly in population. More significant however is the fact that the population of the mountain counties of both sections has increased at a greater rate than that of the lowland: in Eastern Kentucky five times as fast and in West Virginia three and one half times. Though the birth rate in both section is high the large increase must be explained by the coming in of a new population from the outside, to develop the resources of the country. This causes us to realize that the mountain parts of the southern states, so long abandoned to isolation and neglect are coming to be known for their great abundance of resources of varied kinds. And it is not too much to forecast that before long they will take their place as more nearly the equals of the lowland sections of the Ohio Valley, in wealth, intelligence and progress.

In density of population, as might be expected, the mountain counties are inferior to the other sections of the states of which they are a part. West Virginia has 38.4 persons to the square mile while Eastern Kentucky has 43.9. The other parts of the states have respectively, 72.3 and 63.4 persons to the square mile. That population is more dense in Eastern Kentucky than in West Virginia comes as something of a surprise. It may be due to the greater amount of agricultural land and the greater number of small farms, for the average land to each inhabitant in Eastern Kentucky is about 86 acres while in West Virginia it is about 114 acres.

The mountain counties of both West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky are essentially rural in their character. Eastern Kentucky has only five percent of its population in towns of two thousand five hundred population or over, and might fitly be characterized as super-rural. West Virginia mountain counties have ten percent of urban population, the largest city being that in which we meet, (Charleston). The remaining counties of the states have respectively an urban population of twenty-



six percent and thirty one percent. The opening up of the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky in recent times leads us to forecast in the future conditions more nearly like those of West Virginia. In the last few years spurs of the railroad system have penetrated Eastern Kentucky and several towns of a few thousand inhabitants have sprung up, almost like mushrooms in the night.

As we turn to examine the composition of the population we mark a striking contrast between the two mountain sections. In Eastern Kentucky there are only a few thousand of foreign born, as yet, and the percentage is only four tenths of one per cent. In West Virginia there are over twenty six thousand of foreign born or a proportion of five percent of the population. The foreign element of the mountain section of Kentucky is much less than in the lowland, while in West Virginia it is twice as great as in the lowland counties. In this respect Eastern Kentucky is likely to follow the lead of West Virginia and we shall not always be able to boast of the pure Anglo-Saxon stock as we have in the past.

In comparing the white with the colored population we find that Eastern Kentucky has a proportion of two and one half per cent and West Virginia a proportion of eight per cent. In the one section the colored is larger than the foreign and in the other it is smaller. In the mountain section of Kentucky it is smaller than in the lowland where the proportion is 15 percent and in the mountain section of West Virginia it is larger than in the lowland counties where the proportion is only two and one half percent.

To a certain extent the statistics of illiteracy and school attendance are indicators of social conditions. In speaking of illiteracy we must remember that it is, in the mountain sections, more properly a sign of lack of opportunity than mental inferiority. The percentage of illiterate voters in Eastern Kentucky is very high, being 20 per cent of the voting population. In West Virginia it is only 13 per cent but that is high, compared with the four per cent of Ohio and Indiana. It is encouraging to note that the last decade marks a considerable decrease, a little greater in Eastern Kentucky than in West Virginia, and Eastern Kentucky is at present in the midst of the unique and interesting campaign to eradicate literacy by means of the moonlight school. Already there are over two thousand of these schools attended, on moonlight nights, by over one hundred thousand adults, ranging in years from twenty to ninety or more. Sometimes they come for many miles over the rough roads, so eager do they seem to remove the disability that comes from lack or neglect of early opportunity. It has been estimated that by 1920 illiteracy in Eastern Kentucky may be a thing of the past.

The little school house is the hope of the mountain counties of both Kentucky and West Virginia. Here is the place where social conditions for the future may be largely shaped. Statistics of school attendance show that in the mountain counties of West Virginia 63.5 of the children of school age are in attendance and in Eastern Kentucky 61 per cent. This is only four per cent less than in the lowland counties of West Virginia and it is actually one per cent larger than in the Blue Grass



section of Kentucky. This is encouraging and it should inspire to greater activity to make this mean all that it may for the future of the mountain counties.

If we seek to measure social and economic conditions by property we find that the resident of West Virginia stands on a foundation about twice as great as the resident of Eastern Kentucky. The value of a farm with its building is \$2,825 in the one section and \$1,359 in the other. A consideration of the manufacturing and mineral properties would render the advantage vastly greater. The average farm of West Virginia is 114 acres and of this 48 are in cultivation while the average farm of Eastern Kentucky is 86 acres of which 38 acres are improved. In both sections land values are increasing, and are twice as great as in 1900.

If it is proper in a historical meeting to look forward as well as backward, it may be said that the mountain edge of the Ohio valley, as represented by the counties of West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky, is destined to experience greater changes in the coming years, relatively speaking, than any other section of the valley; and such a judgment is based on what it is possible to see already being done. In conclusion let me say the mountain counties have no apologies to make for themselves.

FRIDAY P. M. (6th Paper)

Professor McGregor's paper on "West Virginians vs. West Virginia, 1861-63," dealt with the relations between the people and the state government in the early part of the civil war. As the paper read was practically one of the chapters of a book Prof. McGregor is writing, the secretary was not able to get a copy of it for this report. The same was true of Professor Ambler's paper.

FRIDAY. (Evening Session)

This session was held in the Assembly hall of the Y. M. C. A. building. The speaker of the evening was Professor Robert McNutt McElroy of Princeton University. He spoke to an intensely interested audience on the subject of German and the European war. The address has not been written and can be given only in part. Beginning with a brief consideration of the attitude of America and Americans to the war, Professor McElroy said:

Germany and the European War.

"Neutrality, as I would describe it, does not consist in thought vacuum, but an openness of mind to hear all the facts before closing the controversy prejudicial to anyone. I come before you to discuss this question as every American must come, without denunciation or harsh criticism for any of the nations involved, but with a desire, nevertheless, to get at the truth in the matter if that is possible."

After examining the evidence available he had come to the conclusion that the war was "made in Germany."

Blame for the war was not placed on the German people by Professor McElroy, but on the military system which has been fostered and foisted on the people of that empire by its rulers. He said the causes of the war were of a most complicated nature and extremely puzzling in origin.



Declaring that its original cause probably reaches back through the centuries, Professor McElroy said it would be a generation or more before all the principal facts preceding the declaration of war by the various powers will be known.

"Causes of great events always are in themselves complex," he said, "and there probably never was a time when this fact was more exemplified. In the causes of the present war there is an extraordinarily complicated series of incidents. There is the age-long hatred of tryanny as it exists in such countries as England, France and the United States. There is the struggle of England to maintain her mastery of the seas. A significant thing also may be found in the fact that France has never forgotten the loss of Alsace and Lorraine.

"Then we must consider the inherent attitude of Germany toward the rule of force. 'As a man thinketh, so is he'; and as a nation thinks, so, also is that nation. That nation which, when a controversy arises, thinks first of force as a means of settlement, is necessarily a belligerent, a military nation. England and the United States long have been thinking first of peaceful ways of settling difficulties. Germany has adopted the opposite way of thinking. Her first thought is not a peaceful settlement, but a military adjustment.

"You will look in vain through all the annals of Prussian history for a single instance of true representative government. The government of Prussia, throughout her existence, has been one succession of military rule after another. Force is her god and military efficiency is her high priest. There are no representative institutions in Prussia, and little by little all Germany has been Prussianized.

"While the birth of representative institutions was in the forests of Germany, and today the idea has spread to nearly half the globe, Switzerland and Holland are the only parts of the early German territory which have preserved it in their forms of government". In showing the growth of militarism in Germany from the Prussian source, he quoted at length from a number of the great philosophers of that country, who, he declared, have instilled the teachings into the minds of the people.

"Our idea," he said, "is that government begins with the people and that sovereignty belongs there." But in Germany the idea has been rooted into the minds of the people that government comes from above and that sovereignty is with God, who is personally represented before the people by their sovereign. Americans generally regard this war as a struggle between these two ideas. In my opinion despotism, as represented by the German militarism, is fighting her last battle of re-trenchment in the world's history."

To show how the military idea dominates Germany, he said that 700 books on military subjects were published in Germany last year as compared with 20 in Great Britain.

Professor McElroy, who has lived in Germany for considerable periods of time, and who was there when the present war broke out, insisted that German public opinion does not exist. What the people think is not allowed to be expressed. Therefore the prevailing opinion in Germany is the opinion which has been fostered by the ruling classes. The great



idea of Prussia is that she is to rule the world by military efficiency for its own good, but most of the world will prefer to rule themselves, even though a little less efficiently.

In closing he declared that in the beginning we had the birth of representative institutions in Germany. The idea of a representative government first came from the German forests but it was driven from the continent of Europe to England by militarism and then from England to the American colonies by the desire of the English rulers to replace the will of the people by the divine right of kings. Then he turned back the pages of history and showed how the idea was transplanted to France by the French soldiers, who helped America win its war of independence. "Today we see the spectacle of the allies marching in battle taking the foundling back home."

At the conclusion of the address, the members of the Association, the speaker of the evening, and a number of Charleston people adjourned to the Hotel Kanawha where they did ample justice to the dinner provided by the generous hospitality of the Local Committee and other citizens of Charleston. Professor Bradford served as toastmaster and among those who spoke were Ex-Governor W. A. MacCorkle, Honorable Stuart F. Reed, Secretary of State, Dr. H. S. Green, State Historian; Professor McElroy, Mr. B. S. Patterson, Secretary of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Professor Siebert, Professor Elson, and Professor Hulbert.

Owing to the Governor's necessary absence from the city the reception at the Executive Mansion, which had been planned for this evening, was not given.

SATURDAY A. M.

The last session was devoted to the subject of transportation and the following papers were read:

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ON THE MONONGAHELA RIVER.

By Superintendent W. Espey Albig, Bellevue, Pa.

Although the traffic on the Monongahela River from Brownsville to the Ohio had advanced from the canoe of the Indian and the Kentucky boat of the emigrant or Revolutionary times, to a water borne traffic of no mean size in passengers and miscellaneous freight, and to more than a million bushels of coal annually before the Monongahela waterway was improved by the installation of locks and dams late in 1841, yet no records remain of the constantly increasing stream of commerce passing over this route between the east and the west. Here and there remains a fragment from a traveller, a ship builder or a merchant giving a glimpse

of the river activity of the later years of the 18th century and the early ones of the 19th century.

The Ohio Company early recognized the importance of this water-way, and early in 1754 Captain Trent on his way to the forks of the Ohio by Nemaquin's and the Redstone trails built "The Hangard" at the mouth of Redstone Creek. From April 17th, when he surrendered his works to the French and retreated in canoes up the Monongahela, this avenue became more and more important until the steam railways supplanted the slower traffic by water.

The easy navigation of this stream led that man of keen insight, General Washington, into error, when, under date of May 27th, 1754, he writes: "This morning Mr. Gist arrived from his place, where a detachment of fifty men (French) was seen yesterday. . . . I immediately detached seventy-five men in pursuit of them, who I hope will overtake them before they get to Redstone, where their canoes lie."

These men, however, had come by Nemaquin's Trail; but the force of 500 French and 400 Indians which followed close upon the heels of Washington after his defeat of Jumonville, and captured him at Fort Necessity, came up the Monongahela from Fort Duquesne in periaugas.

The expedition of General Braddock in 1755, disastrous though it was, opened up the way from the East to the fertile lands of the Ohio Valley. Under date of May 24th, 1766, George Croghan, Deputy Indian Agent, writes from Fort Pitt: "As soon as the peace was made last year (by Colonel Bouquet) contrary to our engagements to them (the Indians) a number of our people came over the Great Mountain and settled at Redstone Creek, and upon the Monongahela, before they (the Indians) had given the country to the King, their Father."

A letter written from Winchester, Virginia, under date of April 30th, 1765, says: "The frontier inhabitants of this colony and Maryland are removing fast over the Allegheny Mountains in order to settle and live there."

This migration was augmented by Pennsylvanians, following the act passed in 1780, which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. About this time, too, it became generally known that the Monongahela Valley was Pennsylvania territory rather than that of Virginia. Kentucky was an inviting district and her charms were made patent to all. So general became migration to Kentucky that the name "Kentucky Boat" was applied to the flat used in transportation on the Monongahela at that time. Boat yards for the constructing of all manner of river craft were opened at Brownsville where the overland route from Cumberland and the east first reached communication with the western waters, and at Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth) fourteen miles from the mouth of the Monongahela River.

In 1784 a petition was presented at the September term of the Fayette County Court for a road from "Redstone Old Fort along the river side to the grist- and sawmill at the mouth of Little Redstone and to Collo. Edw'd Cook's," since, "the intercourse along the river is so considerable, by reason of the number of boats for passengers, which are almost con-

stantly building in different parts along the River side." The petition was granted.

The Pennsylvania Journal, of Philadelphia, in its issue of February 13th, 1788, carried the statement that "Boats of every dimension may be had at Elizabeth-Town, in the course of next spring and summer . . . where provisions of all kinds may be had at a very cheap rate, particularly flour, there being no less than six grist mills within the circumference of three or four miles." In its issue of August 20th in the same year the Pennsylvania Journal carried an advertisement that at "Elizabeth, town on the Monongahela" the proprietor (Stephen Bayard) "has erected a Boat yard . . . where timber is plenty, and four of the best Boat Builders from Philadelphia are constantly employed."

Captain John May, who gave his name to the settlement at the mouth of Limestone Creek, Kentucky, and who in 1790 was killed by the Indians while descending the Ohio, under date of May 5th, 1788, writes in his diary: "This day was raised here (at Elizabeth Town) a large shed for building boats. Almost all the Kentucky boats from the east pass this place; near two hundred have passed this spring."

The hardships entailed by this migration were enormous. During the severe winters when the Monongahela was ice bound the road leading through Brownsville to the river was lined on both sides with emigrant wagons whose occupants with difficulty prevented themselves from perishing from the cold.

The Indian ravages on the boats on the Ohio and on the settlers in the Kentucky country occurred with terrifying frequency. Possibly fifteen hundred people perished through these attacks in the seven years following the close of the Revolutionary War. Finally the boats going down from Pittsburgh formed in brigades. Denny's Military Journal, of April 19th, 1790, gives an account of one such flotilla containing sixteen "Kentucky Boats," and two keel boats. The flat boats were lashed together three abreast and kept in one line. The women and children along with the animals were placed in the middle boats, while the outside ones were defended and worked by the men. These boats were guarded on either flank by the keels. In this case the Indians did not attack, but the unwieldy craft was almost wrecked in a furious storm of wind and rain. Despite these drawbacks, however, by 1790 the Kentucky country had a population of approximately 74,000 people, many of whom had come down the Monongahela.

With the opening by France of the West Indies to trade and the right of deposit secured at New Orleans from Spain, the western trade, enormously expanded, bid fair to be controlled by Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh at the mouth of the Monongahela had a commanding part of that traffic. Except for three or four months in the dry season this town was crowded with emigrants for the western country. Boat building was the chief industry of the place. Log canoes, pirogues, skiffs, bateaux, arks, Kentucky broadhorns, New Orleans boats, barges, and keel boats with masts and sails—all were waiting the emigrant. The people of the Tennessee and Kentucky country brought all their supplies from Philadel-



phia and from Baltimore, now almost an equal commercial rival of her northern neighbor, and shipped their produce to New Orleans.

Pennsylvania early appreciated the value of the Monongahela and its chief tributary, the Youghiogheny River. On the 15th of April, 1782, the Assembly of the state enacted a bill declaring "That the said rivers, so far up as they or either of them have been or can be made navigable for rafts, boats and canoes, and within the bounds and limits of this state, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, public highways."

In 1814 the Assembly authorized the governor to appoint "three disinterested citizens" "to view and examine the river Monongahela" and report "the most suitable places for constructing dams, locks, works or devices necessary to be made to render said river navigable through the whole distance." Nothing resulted from this action, nor from a similar action taken the following year, although an examination was made under the act of 1815.

In 1817 the Assembly authorized the Governor to incorporate a company to make a lock navigation on the river, and appropriated \$30,000 with which to buy stock in the company. No tangible good resulted from this, since the conditions of this act were not met and forfeiture resulted in 1822, when the State took the improving of the Monongahela unto itself; not, however, before it gave permission to those persons who were aiding navigation by building dams in the river to charge toll for their use.

In 1828 E. F. Gay, a civil engineer, made a comprehensive report to the state giving the result of a survey, but the assembly took no action. An effort was made in 1832 to have the Congress of the United States authorize the work, as an extension, under the act of 1824, of the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio to the National road at Brownsville. Congress provided for a survey, which was made in 1833 by Dr. William Howard, U. S. civil engineer. He planned to have locks of a height not exceeding four and one-half feet, which would be used only in case of low water; however, Congress refused to authorize the work.

In 1835 the National Road was turned over to the states through whose territory its course lay. On November 18th, of the same year, a public meeting at Waynesburg, Greene County, recommended the improvement of the Monongahela by the State. This suggestion was eagerly urged by practically the whole district between Brownsville and Pittsburgh, and the desired legislation was attained.

On March 31st, 1836, the "Monongahela Navigation Company" was authorized by Act of Assembly. It was to make a slack water navigation from Pittsburgh to the Virginia State line, and as much farther as Virginia would allow it to go. The capital was to be \$300,000, in shares of fifty. The locks were to be four and one-half feet high. The charter was issued in 1837. The state subscribed \$25,000, and later in 1840, \$100,000 on condition "That all descending crafts owned by citizens of Pennsylvania, not calculated or intended to return, from any point between Millsborough and the Virginia State line, shall pass free of toll through any lock or dam of the lower division of said improvement, until

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the company shall put the first dam above Brownsville in the second division under contract, and complete the same"

The ill-starred United States Bank, now an institution of Pennsylvania, was required to subscribe for \$100,000 of stock. The total subscriptions amounted to \$308,100. From Pittsburgh to Brownsville was found to be fifty-five and one-half miles, and the ascent thirty-three and one-half feet; from Brownsville to the Virginia line, a little over thirty-five miles, ascent forty-one feet—a total of ninety and one-half miles, and ascent of seventy-four and one-half feet, requiring seventeen dams. Higher dams were then authorized, making four necessary below Brownsville, and three above to the State line.

Before these dams could be completed the credit of the state, which had been strained to the breaking point during the '20's and '30's for internal improvements, broke; the United States Bank collapsed, leaving unfilled its obligation of \$50,000 to the Company; many of the private stockholders refused payment; the State's subscription of \$100,000, being in bonds was collected at a loss; Baltimore capitalists refused aid; and, crowning all, a break developed in Dam No. 1 in 1843, which made expensive repair necessary. The whole project became a "mortification to its friends and projectors, and a nuisance to the navigation." The Legislature, however, in order to improve the financial condition of the state, directed, by Act of July 27th, 1842, repeated by Act of April 8th, 1843, sales of all its corporation stocks, including the \$125,000 in this Company. This stock was bought in for \$7,187.50 by a group of men—James K. Moorhead, Morgan Robertson, George Schnable, Charles Avery, Thomas M. Howe, John Graham, Thomas Bakewell, J. B. Moorhead and John Freeman—who with effective energy had on November 13th, 1844, the entire improvement repaired and completed for use to Brownsville, where connection was made with the National Road, which in turn connected at Cumberland, seventy-five miles distant, with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Baltimore. Pittsburgh at last was brought within thirty hours of the Atlantic seaboard.

Long before the Monongahela River had been improved, however, and the steamboat had driven the keel boat and the flat boat from the western waters, the feeble frontier settlements of the Monongahela Valley were preparing to utilize the commercial possibilities of the southwest. In 1800 certain farmers near Elizabeth built a schooner of two hundred and fifty tons burden, launched it in the spring of 1801, christening it the "Monongahela Farmer." Her cargo taken on at Elizabeth and Pittsburgh, consisted, among other things, of 721 barrels of flour, 500 barrels of whisky, 4,000 deer skins, 2,000 bear skins, large quantities of hemp and flax, and firearms, ammunition and provision for the crew, which consisted of eight men. The vessel was not rigged for sailing at this time. In the instructions to the master, Mr. John Walker, he is instructed to "proceed without unnecessary delay to the City of New Orleans Should the markets for flour be low at New Orleans and the vessel appear to sell to disadvantage you in that case have it in your power to sell a part of the cargo, to purchase rigging, fit out the vessel and employ hands to sail her to any of the Islands you in your Judgment and to the

Best information May think best, and then make sale of the vessel and cargo."

This boat left Pittsburgh on a June rise, was attacked by the Indians, lost one man by drowning, was detained by reason of low water for three months at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), and for some weeks on a bar, now called Walker's bar, above Hurricane Island, reached New Orleans and with her cargo was sold profitably, although the flour was soured by being stored in the damp hold. The master contracted yellow fever, but recovered, and returned home after an absence of fourteen months; and, during the following year (1803), superintended the construction of the brig *Ann Jane*, 450 tons burden, loaded her with flour and whisky, and sailed her with profit to New York by way of the rivers, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean.

Thus the commerce of the Monongahela flourished until the *Enterprise*, 45 tons, the fourth steamboat produced on western waters, was built at Brownsville in 1814. The era of steam had begun.*

The Monongahela products were becoming well known. Its flour "is celebrated in foreign markets, for its superiority, and it generally sells for one dollar more per barrel in New Orleans than any other flour taken from this country to that market. The best and greatest quantity of rye whiskey is made on this river. Peach and apple brandy, cider and cider-royal are also made in great abundance."

Harris' Directery of Pittsburgh (1844) says of Elizabethtown, which, along with Brownsville, was the leader in developing commercial transportation on the Monongahela: "In 1797 the ship-building was commenced at that place. From that time up to 1826 a considerable trade was done in building barges, keel boats, and other craft. From the latter period to the present time, it is presumed Elizabeth has built a larger number of valuable steam vessels than any other place in the United States according to its population. Amount of steamboat tonnage built at Elizabeth from 1826 to 1837—80 boats, averaging 240 tons—is 19,200.

From 1837 to 1840—30 boats averaging 200 tons is 6,000.

From 1840 to 1844—47 boats averaging 240 tons each is 11,280.
Total tonnage, 36,480."

The success of the ship building industry at Elizabeth led to the opening of boat yards at Bellevue and California.

The slack water equipment multiplied commerce enormously. It was estimated that during 1837 the loss occasioned to coal alone by the ice was at least \$40,000. In October of 1838 there was approximately 750,000 bushels of coal laden on boats which had been waiting three months for a shipping stage of water.

Under date of January 1st, 1840, Thomas McFadden, wharf master of Pittsburgh, gives a statement of the number of arrivals and departures of steamboats employed regularly in the Monongahela trade: "In addition to which a number of steamboats have occasionally gone to Browns-

* "It will be a novel sight, and as pleasing as novel, to see a huge boat working her way up the windings of the Ohio, without the appearance of sail, oar, pole, or any manual labor about her—moving within the secrets of her own wonderful mechanism, and propelled by power undiscoverable."—*Western Navigator*, 1811.



ville, &c., and a large number of flat-boats, loaded with coal, have descended the river without stopping at this port."

Steamers.	Tons.	Voyages.	
Liberty	83	21	
Franklin	34	65	
Pike	35	34	
Shannon	77	43	Tons. -
Ploughman	38	58	14,196
Royal	68	29	
Excel	41	13	
Exact	61	3	
Traveller, Ranger, D. Crockett, running constantly and employed in towing flats, rafts, &c.			
686 keels and flats loaded with produce.....			9,482
1,048 flats loaded with coal, brick, &c. tonnage unknown.			
Total tons			23,678

During 1845 toll was received to the amount of over \$15,000 from freights and rafts, etc.: above \$8,000 for passengers of whom almost twenty-three thousand were through passengers: and above \$5,000 for coal, amounting to more than four and one-half millions of bushels.

This favorable showing was increased during the next year to above \$20,000 for freights: to above \$12,000 for passengers, of whom almost 35,000 were through passengers to or from the east: to above \$10,000 for coal, amounting to more than seven and one-half millions of bushels.

Commerce continued to increase. Classified freights continued until the tolls in 1852, when the Pennsylvania Railroad reached Pittsburgh, and the B. & O. reached Wheeling, amounted to more than \$30,000 annually. Coal tonnage grew steadily greater until in 1855 it reached the amazing total of almost 1,000,000 tons, and fifteen years later to twice that amount, this latter rapid increase being due in part to the building in 1856 of two locks above Brownsville, which carried the slack water navigation to within seven miles of the Virginia line. Through passenger traffic reached its climax in 1848 with a total for the year of almost forty-eight thousand souls.

To this latter traffic and classified freight the National Road contributed largely. For from the time it was thrown open to the public in the year 1818 until 1852 it was the one great highway, over which passed the bulk of trade and travel, and the mails between the east and the west. As many as twenty four-horse coaches have been counted in line at one time. During the eight years before the coming of the railroads more than two hundred thousand passengers travelled over the road by way of the Monongahela; almost another one hundred thousand travelled between Brownsville and Pittsburg, and over four hundred and fifty thousand travelled part of the way between these two places. William Henry Harrison as President-elect of the United States, used this route, and his body was returned by the same way. It looked more like the leading avenue of a great city rather than a road through rural districts. One man in 1848 counted 133 six-horse teams passing

along the road in one day, and took no notice of as many more teams of one, two, three, four, and five horses. "It looked as if the whole earth was on the road: wagons, stages, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and turkeys without number." In the year 1822 six commission houses in Wheeling received approximately five thousand loads of merchandise, and paid nearly \$400,000 for its transportation. About two-fifths of this passenger and freight traffic after 1844, when the slack water improvements reached Brownsville, was directed through the Monongahela.

High hopes had earlier been maintained of the benefits to commerce by building dams in the Youghiogheny, one of the chief tributaries of the Monongahela. The Youghiogheny Navigation Company was incorporated in 1816. Another company was incorporated in 1841. Another Youghiogheny Navigation Company was incorporated in 1843, which by November 7th, 1850, had constructed two dams and opened navigation to West Newton, eighteen miles from the river's mouth. The terrific force of the turbulent spring freshets soon rendered them permanently useless. The traffic on this river by reason of its uncertain moods was slight. Following a memorial to the State Legislature in 1845 boats going down the Youghiogheny, not intending to return, were passed without toll through the Monongahela locks. The largest commercial venture on its waters possibly was in 1842 when 13,000 bushels of coke was boated from near Connellsville to Cincinnati.

"If they (the navigators) can contrive to keep near the middle of the stream, they are hurled onward through white caps and billows, with a frightful degree of safety: otherwise they are doomed to destruction, and frequently to a melancholy loss of life."

Of the classified freight in the commerce of the Monongahela, salt occupied a large place, as immense quantities were brought from the salt works in New York. Whisky, butter, lard, cheese, flour, oats, sand, apples, hop poles, nails, tobacco, wool, feathers, bacon, pork, staves, brick, ginseng, and beeswax were staple articles of commerce. Pittsburgh continued to be the distributing point. The Monongahela proved to be a valuable feeder to the State canals. Of the 80,000 barrels of flour which came down it in 1851, more than nine-tenths were reshipped eastward by the Pennsylvania canal: and other items in like manner.

It is not to be thought that the improvement of navigation in the Monongahela was secured by the harmonious co-operation of the Valley, or that its practical operation was materially helped by the shippers. "It is a remarkable fact," says the engineer, Sylvanus Lothrop, in his report to the President of the Company, January 4th, 1847, "that with so many unanswerable arguments to recommend it to, and enforce it upon, the public attention, no work in the country has ever encountered greater obstacles than this. Instead of being, as it ought to have been, fostered by our citizens, and hailed by the inhabitants of the Monongahela Valley as a blessing to themselves, it met with nothing but the most chilling regards from the one, and with either the most violent prejudice, or the most determined hostility from the other." Protests were made against the toll charges, and in 1848 the Valley was aflame with the cry that the locks should be cut down to a height of four and one-half feet so that in



times of freshet the boats might float, unhindered by locks, to the Ohio. Much difficulty was encountered in securing rapidity of movement through the locks. Rival coal crews fought, in the face of definite regulations, for precedence in passing through the locks. The Company early established rules, in vain. The State legislature (1851) passed special legislation to facilitate passage, and later (1864) made the penalties more severe, yet many times the locks for hours at a time were idle while the freighting crews blocked the entrance, and the prosperity-carrying Ohio "rise" receded below the boating stage.

When the Monongahela River was about to be bridged at Smithfield street in Pittsburgh, it was seriously proposed that the bridge be built so low that the boats could not pass under, thus necessitating the transfer of freights, and a profitable business for longshoremen.

Out of such strife and from such humble beginnings arose the mighty traffic which now yearly sweeps down the Monongahela through locks, augmented in number and increased in size, and now owned and operated without charge to the traffic, by the United States Government. No longer does the Ohio wait upon the "rise" of her tributary from the south, but rather is the waiting reversed, until such time as the United States shall have done her "perfect work" for "the beautiful river."

THE RELATIONS OF AMERICAN SECTIONALISM TO TRANSPORTATION ROUTES.

BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT,

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The physiographic regions of the United States are plainly defined by our geological surveys. The first sectionalism was the geological and biological sectionalism found to exist when man first knew this continent. It is to be noted that these sections as laid down by scientists take little note of the drainage areas of the continent. In the Atlantic drainage area we find two physiographical regions: similar regions in the trans-Allegheny do not coincide at all with the drainage systems of the continent: nearly a dozen physiographic regions lie in the three drainage areas, the Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico and Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is plain, then, that transportation routes as defined by drainage systems had nothing to do with the first or as we may call it Geologic Sectionalism.

With the coming of Europeans to America and the introduction of the human element in the destiny of the continent a new sectionalism which may be called for convenience Colonial Sectionalism was created. The process of development was contingent upon the lines of least resistance and least elevation. Waterway access to the interior and safe harbors along the Atlantic coast determined the distribution of population. To France was given the great St. Lawrence gateway to the Lakes; by the line of least physical as well as human resistance the Ottawa Valley, France placed her flag throughout the interior and her explorers knew well Lake Superior when the southern coast of Lake Erie was only a

myth. The struggle between England and France was in no sense, except a nominal sense, a sectional struggle.

It was a struggle of two civilizations of different basic characteristics working out rival destinies in two well-defined regions of the same continent; but the conquest of either was a maritime proposition and the real crisis involved fleets and transports rather than armies. Had New France received from Old France the gift of successful colonization and planted thriving colonies on the Lakes and Mississippi, the struggle would have developed into a sectional question; but such was not the case.

It is necessary to point out that the term as known today in Asia and Africa as "Spheres of Influence" ought to be substituted frequently for the word "sectionalism" as sometimes used. The term sectionalism cannot properly be applied to any region in a political sense, in my opinion, unless the causes which make the region a distinct "section" are resident and inherent. They cannot be imported. They can regularly be interpreted in terms of economics and biology. Otherwise it is no true sectionalism.

Various portions of the Atlantic coast became spheres of influence of English, Dutch, Swedish and Spanish colonies. As production ensued and consequent rivalry in trade, sectionalism came into existence; this shows the close analogy in the realm of biology as a dominant feature in any question involving sectionalism. But no law holds except the law of self-interest. In the colonial period self-interest may be taken as the main-spring of action, a self-interested economy. In this period New England became sectionally divided at first between the seaport interests and the agricultural interests, and later under the guise of commercial interests on the seaport side and the manufacturing interests on the landward side. While the settlements in the Middle Atlantic and Southern States remained confined to the Atlantic Plain, sectional tendencies began to develop with the growing sterility of the soil and with the opening of the rice and cotton areas below Virginia. The spread of settlements up the long river valleys of the Middle and Southern States eventually began to be felt; the interior of the Northern States was too close to the seaboard to produce an equal effect. It was up the long valleys of the Atlantic Plain rivers that the population of the hinterland went. Filling in the Piedmont region and the rich valleys beyond the Blue Ridge, a civilization of frontiersmen was established whose economic basis of life was totally different from that of the lower valleys; the Piedmont for the time became sectional. When men dammed streams to plant their mills, as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the tobacco planters below raised objection: the attitude had changed since Bacon's Rebellion, as the economic conditions altered. A "west" came into existence as a vital section in that nest-head of river region where Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee met. It was not geological, though geology somewhat explains it: it was not colonial, though the democracy of colonial hinterland in part formed it: it was a new type, to be called, if you please, Frontier Sectionalism. It was vital, energetic, puissant. It was the mother of the western movement previous to the Revolution, and

gave us the opportunity to claim a Mississippi boundary line at the end of that war. It lay on the highway of earliest importance from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi Basin; indeed it was the focus point of all routes—up the Potomac and Shenandoah, up the James, as well as up the river valleys of the Carolinas. But for the focusing of a score of important river valley migration routes in this nest-head of river region (far to the south of French and afterward English zones of operations) it could not have had the population or influence from 1730 to 1790 that it had. The routes which explain the laying down of a large population, however, were not in any real sense trade routes, but rather passageways which made access to that region possible. The distinguishing feature of Frontier Sectionalism wherever displayed was lack of commercial communication; pathways of migration might exist without number but they were not highways of commerce.

The pathways to this mountainous region at the head of the James, Kanawha and Tennessee aided a great population (which was diverted from other fields by various causes) to settle there. Given an older settlement and a new settlement at such a distance as this several causes might operate to unite them: the older settlement having produce or goods greatly needed in the new might open permanent trade routes to the frontier; or the frontier having the same economic opportunity might open routes to the older settlement; or transportation companies seeing the possibilities of economic exchange might hazard the capital necessary to open communication with expectation of trade flowing back and forth over the route. It is superficial to view this route or any route as of itself having created anything: the economic need and opportunity was in all cases in existence and routes of transportation were only factors in developing a latent possibility.

Frontier Sectionalism was, then, a condition, however, not a place. It occurred or found expression wherever a population grew up at a distance from markets. The Southern Piedmont had no such connection in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and has little today. It has been the perpetual home of "Frontier Sectionalism." The great increase in the number of stills in that region since the South went dry is a remarkable proof of this fact.

In the case of the Frontier in the Southern Alleghenies the opening of stable trade routes either on the part of the old settlements or of the frontier itself was out of the question. Landward routes of such dimensions for horses were unknown anywhere in the world in similar isothermal conditions. But more important still, the population of this region was an eddying population and its face was pointed west. For every torn river valley that led to this region another just beyond was found to offer passageway out of it. No sooner did men come to understand that such a region existed than they heard in turn that men were leaving it for a better beyond. Onward by a hundred rivulet valleys men pressed into the Ohio Valley. Here from Fort Pitt to far down the Mississippi they settled by the shores of a thousand creeks and rivers. The economic basis of this civilization was at first identical with that of the recruiting grounds along the Alleghenies. The rush into the Missis-

Date		Description		Amount	
1890	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1891	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1892	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	
1893	Jan 1	Balance		100.00	
	Feb 1	Interest		5.00	
	Mar 1	Interest		5.00	
	Apr 1	Interest		5.00	
	May 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jun 1	Interest		5.00	
	Jul 1	Interest		5.00	
	Aug 1	Interest		5.00	
	Sep 1	Interest		5.00	
	Oct 1	Interest		5.00	
	Nov 1	Interest		5.00	
	Dec 1	Interest		5.00	

Mississippi Basin came during and just after the Revolution. No sooner was this region fairly well occupied than it altered its character. For a few years it developed every feature of "Frontier Sectionalism" because it lacked even more than the mountain region means of communication. But in less than a generation it became plain that it had unwittingly migrated to a great route of communication. "Its Frontier Sectionalism" was transformed into what one may call a "Mississippi Sectionalism."*

As soon as it came to self-consciousness at the beginning of the nineteenth century it realized its dependence on its one great outlet—the Mississippi drainage system. Racially and religiously it was complex; politically it was a unit: the people of a section can be true to the best interests of their country in no way but by being true to themselves; greater national interests may outweigh a sectional prejudice and overrule it; this in no wise repudiates a true sectional analization and determination of local interests. The alliance politically between the West and the South on questions like tariff, banking, slavery, etc., was not a theoretical alliance; on certain questions these sections underwent an economic coalescence. Only in superficial and spurious sense was the question of slavery a sectional question. So long as it remained a sectional problem geographically, the real leaders of the North had no quarrel with it. Lincoln gave the South his word that he would not interfere with slavery where it existed. So long as it was sectional it was not a question, but a condition. A sectional condition is a biological problem; Lincoln had no quarrel with biology. When Lincoln cried out that we could not exist half slave and half free he did not believe that we could not exist three-tenths slave and seven-tenths free. Without the power politically to wield new states which slavery by expansion would give the South, the South was doomed to domination: the South fought against political subordination behind the mask of slavery; for political purposes it fought to extend slavery beyond the region where it was a biological incingruity.

The reign of Mississippi Sectionalism was cut in twain by the revolution of methods of transportation. This revolution occurring between 1818 and 1835 was one of the most remarkable in human annals. The National Road, Erie and Pennsylvania canals and the beginning of steamboat and railway exploitation affected principally the Great Lake region—actually bringing into existence what before had been a racial fact but an economic fallacy, the supremacy of Northern influence in the Great Lake empire. This in no wise appears so clearly as in the attitude of westernized New Englanders of the War of 1812 period: they were largely a unit in acting with their Southern fellow-pioneers in urging on the war which New England so largely repudiated. With the coming of steamboat navigation on the Lakes and the completion of the Erie canal connection an Inland Ocean Sectionalism became self-conscious and self-assertive. Its racial complexion instantly solidified it.

Trans-Mississippi Sectionalism as sometimes referred to is of both a

* The development of the consciousness of this sectionalism is well illustrated by the rise of the period of Yankee Shipbuilding on the tributaries of the Ohio, 1800-1808, treated elsewhere by the author.



true and a false character if my previous classification is correct. By the Gulf and by the Red River route a great American population was laid down in the Mexican state of Texas. The routes were a mere incident, almost negligible factors. Texans always had their outlet by way of the Gulf; the Texan question, then, was not a sectional question and Texas does not represent a real kind of sectional influence. The same thing is true of Oregon; occupied by Americans it had its outlet upon the sea; the problem of Oregon as was true with Texas was a political problem. In the case of California a difference must be discerned. With the discovery of gold an economic situation becomes dominant. The Santa Fe and Oregon trails at once leap into an importance, for, with the oceanic route, they become the connecting links between the world and a business of world-wide significance. The building of trans-continental railway lines reflects this development and the importance of it. The region of western mining interests beyond the Great Desert is transformed into a real sectional region in the strict sense of the word. It has produced naturally that independent attitude of mind which comprehends a region as an economic unit of importance. With the production of gold and silver as its great economic basis, allied with the other great interests which have been developed like lumber and cattle, a real Pacific Sectionalism has grown up in America. Its independence is illustrated in its advocacy of new political doctrines and by its attitude on the Asiatic question.

Taken then in review we have Geologic, Colonial, Frontier, Mississippi, Inland Ocean, and Pacific Sectionalism. The first academic, the second Colonial Sectionalism, in terms of today, must be renamed Atlantic Sectionalism.

So in broad terms we have today four great sections as an inheritance from our past history, our Atlantic and Pacific seaboard regions, the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lake Empire. In each section the two conditions, biological and economic, are fully answered today, namely, each section is a famous producing region and each section is provided with transportation routes by which to market its production.

The present European war which has shocked the moral tone of the world by breaking down the thin partitions between civilization and savagery which generations of infinite sacrifice and suffering and patience had erected, has its great lessons for America. Our twentieth century sectionalism must learn the lesson of European sectionalism. The artificial European boundaries though bomb-proof and fortress-studded, defy great natural laws and cannot remain permanent economic barriers of trade and commerce. Sectionalism founded upon the laws of nature and trade demands its rightful recognition, if internal local development is to be secured. The war shall teach America to regard at one and the same time the facts of our present-day sectionalism and the means by which that sectionalism is to be developed toward national ends. Our seaboard sections must be adequately defended by ships and fortifications. Canals paralleling the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard must be built. The canalization of our rivers, the building of permanent roads, the making of canals paralleling lakes that are closed by ice through the winter, demand



the attention of our future engineers. This will increase national homogeneity and at the same time preserve the laws of biology and economics which cannot be defied with impunity. Our anomalous political system of joint national and state sovereignty is identically paralleled by the interdependence in the economic world of our national welfare and our sectional welfare.

It is possible for us to commit the European crime of permitting our national economic sovereignty to override the natural laws of sectional sovereignty. The escape from this danger is through a new era of internal improvements, the development of twentieth century lines of communication (like the Panama Canal, the Lake Erie-Ohio Ship Canal, and slack-water navigation on the Ohio, Missouri and many lesser streams), which will preserve the economic integrity of our sovereign sections.

OHIO RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

By WM. M. HALL.

U. S. Engineer Office, Parkersburg, W. Va.

Under the Constitution of the United States, all navigable rivers are controlled by the national government. Its rights for all purposes of navigation and utilization of the water are supreme. However, in the early years of the government, these rights were not fully exercised. They were trespassed upon, and many of the states issued charters for navigation to companies.

All laws authorizing improvements in the navigation of rivers, and the appropriation of funds therefor, are made by Congress. Since the formation of the government, all the navigable waters, and the improvement thereof, have been in charge of the War Department. The executive and disbursing officers in direct charge of all these improvements are from the Corps of Engineers of the Army, who have been for many years assisted by a large number of civilian engineers. It is a small part of this engineer corps which has charge of the Ohio River. It is another detachment, many of whom had been trained on the Ohio and its tributaries, which has just been so successfully building the Panama Canal.

The improvement of our rivers has involved three principal methods or classes of work, viz.:

1. The removal of snags, trees and boulders.
2. The increasing of depths by building dikes, and dredging.
3. The increasing of depths by building locks and dams.

Prior to making any class of improvement, except the removal of snags and boulders, a survey and estimate of cost is essential.

It is thought that these preliminary remarks may give you a more comprehensive and clearer understanding of our subject, the improvement of the Ohio River, than you might have had were they left unsaid.

That which follows is extracted principally from Departmental reports.

"In 1820 Congress made an appropriation for a survey of the Ohio River from Louisville to the Mississippi River and down that river to its mouth. This survey was made in 1821 by Captains Young and Poussin



of the Topographical Engineers, and Lieutenant Tuttle of the Engineers. In 1824 an appropriation of \$75,000 was made for the improvement of certain sand bars in the Ohio and for the removal of snags from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. During the following year, Major S. H. Long, Topographical Engineer, began the construction of the first dike on the Ohio at Henderson, Ky.

Under a charter granted by the State of Kentucky in 1825, a stock company constructed the Louisville and Portland Canal around the falls of the Ohio, which was opened for traffic in 1830. The United States was one of the original stockholders in this company and gradually increased its holdings until on February 8, 1855, all stock was owned by the United States except five shares held by the directors to qualify them to hold such office. These directors continued to manage the canal until the United States assumed control on June 11, 1874, purchasing the remaining five shares of stock. Between 1868 and 1873 the United States, although not managing the canal, made a series of appropriations for increasing its navigable capacity. Appropriations made since 1874 have been applied to its further improvement."

"While the method of improving the navigable channel of the river by means of dikes and cut-off dams was believed to be successful for the purpose of maintaining a minimum navigable depth of 3 feet, it was recognized at an early date that to provide for the accommodation of coal fleets the best method of improving the river, at least in the upper part of its course, was by means of locks and dams. The first recorded proposition for this purpose was made by Mr. W. Milnor Roberts, civil engineer, in 1870. In April, 1872, a Board of Engineers was appointed to examine and report upon the applicability of certain plans for movable hydraulic gates for chutes and locks. In 1874, Major W. E. Merrill, Corps of Engineers, recommended the construction of 13 locks and movable dams with Chinoine wickets between Pittsburgh and Wheeling, and stated that there is no doubt of the absolute necessity of using locks in any rational plan for improving the upper Ohio so as to secure a 6-foot navigation. In 1875 Major Merrill expressed himself in favor of extending the movable dam system throughout the entire river, qualifying his statement as to its applicability below the falls of the Ohio by saying that, although not assured of its serviceability there, it was a better system than one of permanent dams and the only other system promising 6 or 7 feet of navigation at low water, the system of dikes not being likely to afford more than 4 feet of water at extreme low water and then only after an immense development of such works. The river and harbor act of March 3, 1875, appropriated \$100,000 to be used for and applied towards the construction of a movable dam, or a dam with adjustable gates, for the purpose of testing substantially the best method of improving, permanently, the navigation of the Ohio River and its tributaries.' This dam was constructed at Davis Island and was opened for traffic October 7, 1885."

"The earliest survey (1820) of any part of the Ohio was mentioned in a preceding paragraph, from Louisville to the mouth. In 1837 and 1838 a survey was made by Lieutenant Sanders, Engineers, from Pittsburgh to Letarts, 234 miles; in 1844 this survey was continued down stream

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981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990
991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000

for 37 miles to Clippers Mills by C. A. Fuller, civil engineer, and in 1867 and 1868 the survey was completed from Clippers Mills to Cairo, 696 miles, by W. Milnor Roberts. The results of these surveys were compiled by Major W. E. Merrill, Corps of Engineers, in 1881, after being corrected from data of later surveys of special localities, and the maps were lithographed in 52 sheets and published. Special localities have been surveyed from time to time for use in connection with the general improvement of the river.

The river and harbor act of June 3, 1896, provided for a survey of the Ohio River from Marietta, Ohio, to Pittsburgh, Pa., and for a preliminary examination from Marietta, Ohio to the mouth of the river. The river and harbor act of March 3, 1899, provided for a survey from Marietta, Ohio, to the Big Miami. * * * * * These two surveys were essentially one, both being in charge of Mr. R. R. Jones, U. S. assistant engineer, and the same methods being used throughout. This combined survey covered the river from Beaver, Pa., to Gunpowder bar, 511.2 miles below Pittsburgh, a distance of 482.2 miles, the line of precise levels and the low-water slope being extended to Louisville, Ky. The method of making this survey is described by Major Bixby in his report of January 14, 1902."

All of the work in reference to improvements by locks and dams to 1905 was for a minimum depth of 6 feet navigation. In 1904 the Ohio Valley Improvement Association commenced an active movement for an increase of the minimum depth from 6 feet to 9 feet, and at its annual meeting in Parkersburg, W. Va., in November, 1904, passed resolutions to that effect, which were presented to Congress at the following session. Thereupon the following clause in the River and Harbor Bill, approved March 3, 1905, became a law:

"The Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a board of engineers to examine the Ohio River, and report at the earliest date by which a thorough examination can be made, the necessary data with reference to the canalization of the river, and the approximate location and number of locks and dams in such river, with a view both to a depth of six feet and nine feet: and in said report shall include the probable cost of such improvement with each of the depths named, the probable cost of maintenance, and the present and prospective commerce of said river, upstream as well as downstream, having regard to both local and through traffic. They shall also report whether, in their opinion, such improvement should be made, and whether other plans for improvement could be devised under which the probable demands of traffic, present and prospective, could be provided for without additional locks and dams, or with a less number than is described in surveys heretofore made, giving general details relating to all of said plans and the approximate cost of completion thereof. They shall also examine the said river from the mouth of the Green River to Cairo, with a view to determining whether an increased depth can be maintained by use of dredges."

The report called for therein was made to the 60th Congress, 1st session, and is published as Document No. 492, and is usually referred to as the Lockwood Board report, the chairman being Colonel D. W. Lockwood, now

TABLE I									
Summary of the results of the experiments on the effect of the concentration of the solution on the rate of the reaction									
Concentration of the solution (M)	Rate of the reaction (M/min)	Concentration of the solution (M)	Rate of the reaction (M/min)	Concentration of the solution (M)	Rate of the reaction (M/min)	Concentration of the solution (M)	Rate of the reaction (M/min)	Concentration of the solution (M)	Rate of the reaction (M/min)
0.01	0.001	0.02	0.002	0.03	0.003	0.04	0.004	0.05	0.005
0.06	0.006	0.07	0.007	0.08	0.008	0.09	0.009	0.10	0.010
0.11	0.011	0.12	0.012	0.13	0.013	0.14	0.014	0.15	0.015
0.16	0.016	0.17	0.017	0.18	0.018	0.19	0.019	0.20	0.020
0.21	0.021	0.22	0.022	0.23	0.023	0.24	0.024	0.25	0.025
0.26	0.026	0.27	0.027	0.28	0.028	0.29	0.029	0.30	0.030
0.31	0.031	0.32	0.032	0.33	0.033	0.34	0.034	0.35	0.035
0.36	0.036	0.37	0.037	0.38	0.038	0.39	0.039	0.40	0.040
0.41	0.041	0.42	0.042	0.43	0.043	0.44	0.044	0.45	0.045
0.46	0.046	0.47	0.047	0.48	0.048	0.49	0.049	0.50	0.050
0.51	0.051	0.52	0.052	0.53	0.053	0.54	0.054	0.55	0.055
0.56	0.056	0.57	0.057	0.58	0.058	0.59	0.059	0.60	0.060
0.61	0.061	0.62	0.062	0.63	0.063	0.64	0.064	0.65	0.065
0.66	0.066	0.67	0.067	0.68	0.068	0.69	0.069	0.70	0.070
0.71	0.071	0.72	0.072	0.73	0.073	0.74	0.074	0.75	0.075
0.76	0.076	0.77	0.077	0.78	0.078	0.79	0.079	0.80	0.080
0.81	0.081	0.82	0.082	0.83	0.083	0.84	0.084	0.85	0.085
0.86	0.086	0.87	0.087	0.88	0.088	0.89	0.089	0.90	0.090
0.91	0.091	0.92	0.092	0.93	0.093	0.94	0.094	0.95	0.095
0.96	0.096	0.97	0.097	0.98	0.098	0.99	0.099	1.00	0.100

retired and living at Put-in-Bay, O., an able engineer with charming personality, who by action of law is unfortunately put out of service on account of age.

'The Board gives exhaustive consideration to the question of present and probable commerce, both downstream and up, and it appears that the commerce of the river at that time was approximately 9,000,000 tons per annum, of which a large portion was downstream.' * * * * *

'The board found that the probable demands of traffic, present and prospective, cannot be provided for by any other plan of improvement not having locks and dams, and that a 6-foot depth can be maintained by dredging below Green River, but that a 9-foot depth cannot be maintained economically.

After careful discussion of the factors entering into the cost of transportation by water the Board finds that the probable cost per ton-mile for a 6-foot project will be 0.9553 cent, or 63.14 cents for a ton of coal delivered at Cairo from Pittsburgh. For a 9-foot project the corresponding figures are 0.9447 cent and 43.25 cents, showing an economical advantage in the ratio of 3 to 2 in favor of the deeper project as compared with an increased cost ratio of 5 to 6 only. The estimated cost in both cases is materially increased by the necessity of making provision for the present unique method of coal transportation on the Ohio River, a method which has been developed by long experience, which has cut down the cost of transportation to a figure unprecedented in the history of commerce and which is apparently so well grounded on sound economical consideration that it cannot and should not be disturbed. A project ignoring this method of transportation of coal and adapted to all other forms of traffic now found on the Ohio River or likely to be developed as a result of the improvement, could be devised on an estimated cost materially less than that herein presented, but such a project at a lesser cost does not appear to be admissible and is not considered.'

'The Board therefore finally recommends that the 9-foot project involving 54 locks and dams at an estimated cost of \$63,731,488, should be adopted.'

'As provided by law this report was referred to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors for review. This Board made a personal inspection of the river and held a public hearing at Pittsburgh on August 12, 1907, at which hearing the representatives of the various localities interested in the proposed improvement furnished written statements in advocacy thereof. In its report on this subject, dated October 18, 1907, the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, reviewing the former report in detail and submitting views differing somewhat on minor points from those expressed by the Special Board, nevertheless coincides in the conclusions of that Board and recommends, without qualification, the improvement as proposed by that Board.'

This last is an extract from the remarks by General Mackenzie, Chief of Engineers, in transmitting the above report by the Lockwood Board. I give this so much time for the reason that this project was approved by an act which became a law June 25, 1910, and under it, with minor modifications, the improvement as outlined therein is being made.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

RESEARCH REPORT

NO. 1000

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A tabulated list of the entire system of locks and dams, as proposed by this approved project, with notes indicating those on which construction is started and those which are completed is as follows:

No.	Located at	Located near	Progress.
1	Bellevue Pa.....	(Davis Island)	Completed.
2	Caraopolis, Pa.....		"
3	Sewickley, Pa.....		"
4	Economy, Pa.....		"
5	Freedom, Pa.....		"
6	Beaver, Pa.....		"
7	.....	Georgetown, Pa.	"
8	Wellsville, O.....		"
9	New Cumberland, W. Va.		"
10	.....	Steubenville, O.	Constructing.
11	.....	Wellsburg, W. Va.	Completed.
12	Loveland, W. Va.		Constructing.
13	McMechen, W. Va.		Completed.
14	Woodland, W. Va.		Constructing.
15	.....	New Martinsville, W. Va.	"
16	Sistersville, W. Va.		"
17	.....	Waverly, W. Va.	"
18	Vienna, W. Va.		Completed.
19	Little Hocking, O.		Constructing.
20	.....	Belleville, W Va.	"
21	Portland, O. Funds provided; contract under preparation.		
22	Ravenswood, W. Va. Funds provided; contract under preparation.		
23	.....	Milwood, W. Va.	
24	Racine, O.		Constructing.
25	.....	Cheshire, O	
26	Hogsett, W. Va.		Constructing.
27	.....	Crown City, O.	
28	Central City, W. Va.		Constructing.
29	.....	Ashland, Ky.	"
30	.....	Greenup, Ky.	
31	.....	Portsmouth, O	Constructing.
32	.....	Rome, O.	
33	Maysville, Ky. Funds provided; contract under preparation.		
34	Wellsburg, Ky.		
35	.....	New Richmond, O.	Constructing.
36	.....	Brent, Ky.	
37	Fern Bank, O.		Completed.
38	Rising Sun, Ind.		
39	Florence, Ind.		Constructing.
40	(Omitted)		
41	Louisville, Ky.		Constructing.
42	(Omitted)		
43	.....	New Amsterdam, Ind.	Constructing.

44	.....Leavensworth, Ind.
45	Addison, Ky.....
46	.....Owensboro, Ky.
47	Newburg, Ind.
48	.....Henderson, Ky. Constructing.
49	.....Uniontown, Ky.
50	.....Caseyville, Ky.
51	Elizabethtown
52	
53	
54	.....Mound City, Ill.

An outline map of the river, showing the approximate location of each dam, is attached.

The principal modification to date in this project are the omission of Dam No. 42 and a recommendation for the omission of No. 40; these changes being provided for by increasing the lift of other dams. By these omissions the number of dams now proposed from the head of the river at Pittsburgh to the mouth is 52. The distance from Pittsburgh to the dam numbered 54, about 6 miles above the mouth, is 961.6 miles and the fall from pool level at Pittsburgh (Elevation 703.0 above M. L. W., Sandy Hook, N. Y.) to the navigation pass sill level of No. 54 (Elevation 271.6) is 431.4 feet.

Today 13 dams are completed and in service; another, No. 26, just below the mouth of the Kanawha, is so near finished that it is up and the pool is filling; 17 others are under construction; the funds are provided for starting 3 others, and preparation for letting contracts for them are under way, which leaves 19 for which there are yet no funds available.

The actual cost of the 11 locks and dams which were completed previous to last April, as reported to the Senate, is as follows:

No.	Miles from Head.	Cost.
1	4.70	\$ 973,689.87
2	9.00	977,221.68
3	10.90	1,157,236.08
4	18.60	1,085,973.13
5	23.90	1,086,049.81
6	28.80	1,123,720.15
8	46.10	1,166,265.83
11	76.30	1,162,087.72
13	95.80	1,210,183.24
18	179.80	910,716.18
37	481.30	1,175,157.91

The estimated cost of the entire slackwater system for a minimum of 9 feet navigation as outlined above is,

Appropriation prior to adoption of the above project.....	\$16,555,225.43
Estimated cost of completing the project, as given above...	63,731,488.00
<hr/>	
Total estimated cost of slack-water system.....	\$80,286,713.43





OHIO DAMS

1. **OHIO DAMS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **OHIO DAMS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **OHIO DAMS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **OHIO DAMS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **OHIO DAMS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)

CENTRAL ILLINOIS
 Bicyclic River — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **CENTRAL ILLINOIS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **CENTRAL ILLINOIS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)
 1. **CENTRAL ILLINOIS** — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 (old)

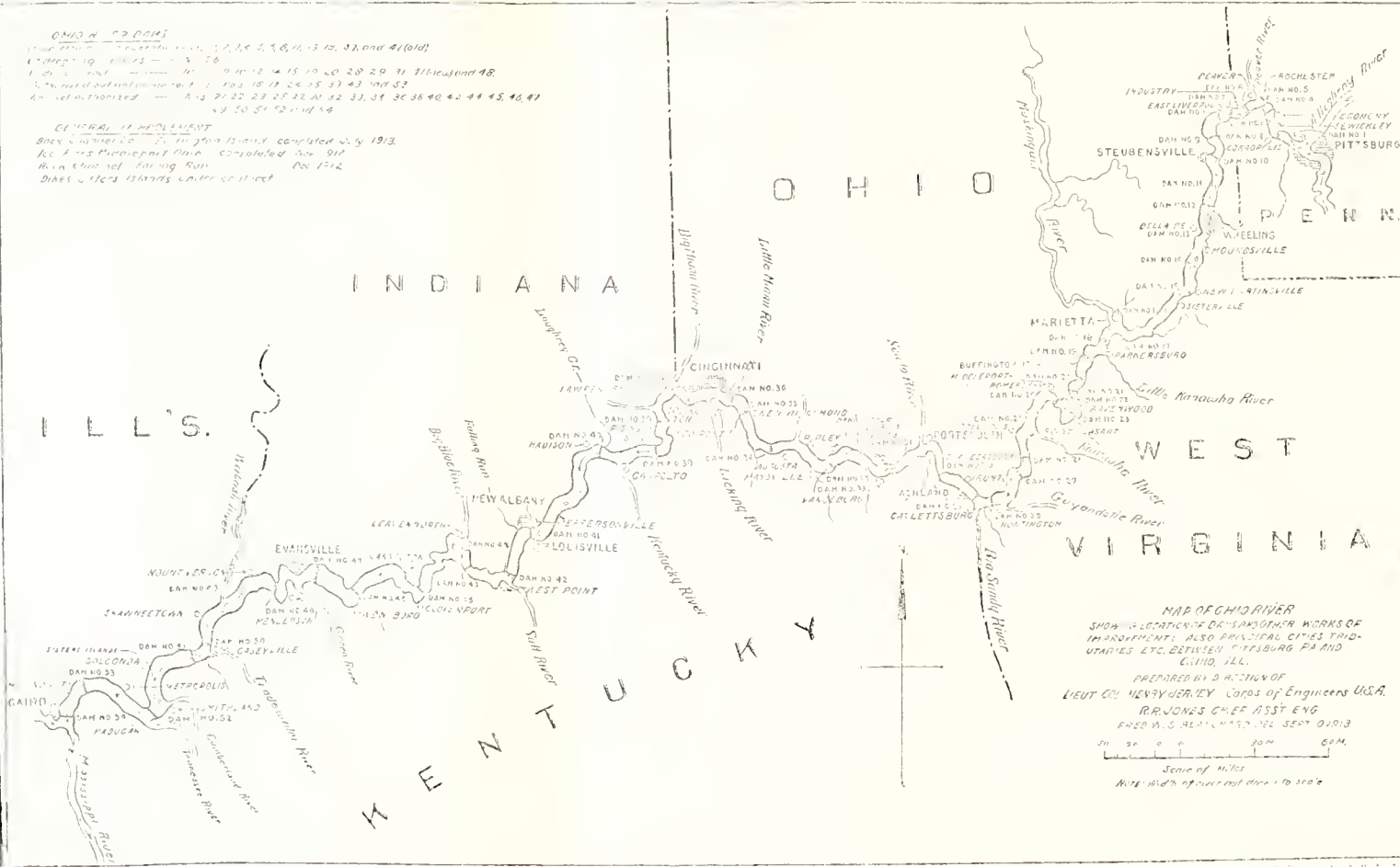
O H I O

I N D I A N A

I L L ' S .

W E S T

V I R G I N I A



MAP OF OHIO RIVER
 SHOWING LOCATIONS OF DAMS AND OTHER WORKS OF
 IMPROVEMENT. ALSO PRINCIPAL CITIES, TRAD-
 UGORIES, ETC. BETWEEN PITTSBURGH AND
 CINCINNATI, ILL.

PREPARED BY D. H. JONES
 LIEUT. COL. U.S. ARMY, Corps of Engineers, U.S.A.
 FRED. W. JONES, CHIEF ASST. ENG.
 FRED. W. JONES, CHIEF ASST. ENG.

Scale of Miles
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Handwritten notes on the left margin, including the word "Handwritten" and other illegible scribbles.

The amount appropriated for the project since its adoption, including the act of August 1, 1914, is \$16,850,000.00, which makes the total appropriation for the slack-water system \$33,405,225.48. From these appropriations the total amount expended to the end of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1914, was \$24,749,002.56.

I am indebted for these last figures to Captain F. B. Wilby, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Secretary of the Ohio River Board of Engineers.

Of the engineering works undertaken by the Government, the Panama Canal is the only one larger than the Ohio River improvement; and it is the opinion of the engineers who have been engaged on both that the Ohio offers a greater variety of engineering work and more difficult in design and construction than the Canal.

I regret that my time is too short to even enumerate the principal engineering features.

As you are going to visit some of the Kanawha locks and dams today, pardon me for digressing to say that the system of movable dams here on the Great Kanawha is the best precedent for such works in this country, and is reckoned as one of the most excellent and most complete in the world. It was started more than 35 years ago by two engineers of this state, General Craighill, a native and life-long citizen of Charleston and Mr. Addison M. Scott, Member American Society Civil Engineers, a citizen of this city. Almost a generation ago these engineers designed and built this improvement so well that it yet remains the best of its kind in this country, and with few equals in the world. It is the product of great minds, years of research and study, and unceasing devotion to duty. I wish to commend them as two citizens worthy of living in your memory.

When completed the Ohio River systems of locks and dams will be so much larger than any other system of river locks and dams that there are no others in its class; therefore, it has no other exact precedent, and consequently involves some new problems, the greatest one I believe being a water supply for filling the pools immediately after the dams are raised. I am now trespassing long enough on your time to record a gentle prediction that storage reservoirs will be required in some of the tributaries for supplying this deficiency.

Congress has named the year 1922 as the limit of time for completing the appropriations for this great work; if so, the system should be completed by 1925. I trust you may all live to see it, and sail down the Ohio on a 9 ft. stage of slack-water from Pittsburgh to Cairo.

WM. M. HALL.

U. S. Engineer Office.
Parkersburg, W. Va.,
November 24, 1914.

Before reading his paper on "Washington and the Western Waterways: Antecedents of the Ohio-Lake Erie Ship Canal", Mr. Patterson said he wished to extend to the Association the greetings of the University of Pittsburgh. He also wished to say that Pittsburgh was going to have another celebration in 1916 and he wanted the Association to come and help them as they did with the last celebration. Mr. Patterson is a



thorough believer in and an enthusiastic supporter of all improvement of waterways connecting the Ohio and the Great Lakes. The secretary regrets her failure to obtain a copy of his paper for this report.

BUSINESS MEETING.

Professor Bradford read the report of the nominating committee and the following persons were elected officers of the Association for the year 1914-15.

President, Prof. H. W. Elson, Athens, O. Vice-Presidents, Prof. Harlow Lindley, Richmond, Ind.; Prof. James R. Robertson, Berea, Ky.; Mr. B. S. Patterson, Pittsburgh, Pa. Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, Prof. J. L. Hill, Georgetown, Ky. Recording Secretary and Curator, Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Oxford, O. Additional members of the Executive Committee, Prof. W. H. Siebert, Columbus, O., Prof. J. M. Callahan, Morgantown, W. Va.

Professor Robertson submitted the following Resolutions which were adopted:

Resolutions passed by the Ohio Valley Historical Association at its business session Saturday, Nov. 28, 1914.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association in closing its eighth annual meeting held in the city of Charleston, Nov. 28th, 29th, 1914, desires, in the following resolutions, to express its gratitude.

1. To Dr. H. S. Green, State Historian, G. A. Bolden, State Archivist and their Associates on the General Local Executive and Local Reception Committees, and to the citizens of Charleston so cordially co-operating with them, for the splendid hospitality extended to the Association at all times and in various ways, including the opening reception at the Historical Rooms of the State Department of History and Archives; for the privilege of examining the interesting and valuable collection of materials therein contained; for the luncheons provided after the morning sessions; for the Association Dinner with its good cheer and sociability; the provision for the excursion to the Salt Works on the Kanawha River.

2. To Ex-Governor and Mrs. MacCorkle for the delightful reception tendered the Association at their home, Sunrise, with its gracious hospitality and its treasures of art and culture.

3. To the retiring President, Prof. J. M. Callahan and the Program Committee for the faithful performance of the difficult task involved in providing so excellent a program, and carrying it through so expeditiously.

4. To all who have participated in the success of the meeting by fulfilling their part on the program.

5. To the management of the Kanawha Hotel for its efficient provision for the comfort of the members of the Association and the use of its assembly room for the meetings.

6. To the press of Charleston for the accurate account of sessions and papers

7. And finally we desire, in view of the thoughtful and discriminating address of Prof. Robert McNutt McElroy of Princeton University on, "Germany and the European War", to renew our fidelity to the ideals of



American government which have given us political liberty and peace, and as teachers and students of History to pledge ourselves to do all that lies in our power to strengthen the same, and pass them on unimpaired to succeeding generations.

J. R. ROBERTSON

ELIZABETH CROWTHER

A. B. HULBERT,

Committee on Resolutions.

BUSINESS MEETING.

It was voted to accept the invitation of Professor Siebert and the next annual meeting will be held at Columbus Ohio. Professor Elson was appointed chairman of the program committee for that meeting and was asked to appoint other members of the committee.

Dr. H. S. Green was appointed to help the Recording-Secretary with the publication of the annual report.

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